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PAKISTAN A NATION



by
EL HAMZA

With 26 Maps

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SH. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
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MUHAMMAD ASHRAF
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TO
THE IMMORTAL CLAN
AURAKZAI
SENTINELS OF PAKISTAN
WHO HAVE MAINTAINED INVIOLATE
THROUGH THE INDIGNITIES OF TIME
THEIR FREEDOM AND THEIR PRIDE
AND WHOSE INDIVIDUALS HAVE
FOR GENERATIONS PAST
PERFUMED WITH THEIR GENIUS
AND ENRICHED WITH THEIR BLOOD
THE SACRED SOIL OF
THE LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

MOTHER INDIA is experiencing the birth-pangs of the great nation-states of the future. The desire for self-determination is spreading among the various national groups living in the vast sub-continent. Pakistan inexorably leads the van and, perhaps, Dravidia will not lag far behind. There are other names too, yet in the making,—Rajasthan and Maharashtra—in the inevitable future.

Whether the birth of the Indian nations will be followed by a baptism of blood depends upon Indian leadership. ' The bloodier the thorougher ' is the lesson of History.

The hopes of a reunion in the remote future depend upon how far bloodshed may be avoided at the separation stage. In this respect History discourages optimism.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE author is grateful to the public for the encouraging reception of the first edition of this book, and to the press for the very indulgent appraisement of its sociological and literary significance.

After considerable persistence, the opposers of the Indian Partition Scheme find themselves drifting from their old position when faced with incontestable realities. Some of the most eminent politicians in the Congress itself have realised the danger of mistaking unimaginative stubbornness for a commendable steadfastness of purpose, and have openly admitted the essential justice of the Muslim League's demand. It is unfortunate, however, that many eminent Congressmen cannot overcome the inertia of defunct ideals, and seem powerless to expedite the peaceful settlement of an issue which, if left to itself, must, by the laws of sociological change, come to a violent and destructive culmination.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

ON the basis of the Indian Muslims having a different national being from the non-Muslim Indian peoples, the All-India Muslim League, in February 1940, put forward a demand for the political partition of India. The purpose of this book is to find geographical, historical and sociological support for the Muslim League's demand. The author has tried to accomplish his purpose by making an attempt to show (1) that India is not one country but several countries with widely different human environment, and (2) that the diversity of race and culture of its inhabitants is so great that they cannot be regarded as one nation (in the modern political sense of the word 'nation') but must be considered as belonging to several nations.

Thus this book is a reply to those who oppose the demand for partition on the grounds that India is one country and the Indians are one nation. The reasons for their doing so in the face of incontrovertible evidence are stated, as understood by the author, in the chapter on 'Bania Imperialism.'

Muslims form the majority of the population in North-Western India and in Eastern India. In the rest of the sub-continent they form a minority. The author has largely been concerned with showing that the North-West is a geographical unit and that the racial, cultural and traditional uniformity of its inhabitants is sufficient justification for their being

regarded as a nation. Eastern India is a distinct natural region and its inhabitants possess a marked racial and cultural individuality; but the author has not been able to enlarge at any considerable length on the subject of the national self-determination of the East-Indian Muslims since he lacks intimate sociological knowledge of that region. For a similar reason the problem of the Muslim minorities in various other Indian countries has been left untouched.

India contains one-fifth of the total human population of the earth. Any large-scale political changes occurring in this sub-continent would be of important interest to humanity in other parts of the world. In the chapter on ' Nationalism and Internationalism ' the place of the future Indian nation-states in world politics is indicated. In the same chapter the author has stated his views on the future possibility of the organisation of a World State as a ' democracy of democracies ', and pointed out the necessity for a world-wide application of the principle of national self-determination for the realisation of that possibility.

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THE sub-continent of India is a vast triangle bounded on one side by a high mountain wall and on the other two sides by the sea. Its area exceeds 1,750,000 square miles, and its extremities are nearly 2,000 miles apart. " It is larger than Europe without Russia and contains one-fifth of the human race."*

So vast a region of the earth's surface contains many races and many climes. The diversity of its many lands and peoples is as great as in any similar area in the world. For instance, the European countries are not more distinct from each other than the different regions of comparable area and population lying within the boundaries of the Indian sub-continent.

The Tropic of Cancer divides the sub-continent into two nearly equal halves. To the north lie the fertile, crowded and amazingly diverse plains of the Indus and Ganges ; and the southern half comprises the vast and varied Deccan plateau and the humid and verdant Ghats.

How big and heterogeneous India is can best be shown by a comparison with Europe. Both continents are about equally big with equally long spans of history. In fact, a high degree of civilization was attained in different places in India long before the people of Europe became civilized. Today Europe shows great racial and linguistic diversity, but in India the diversity of race and language is far greater than it is, or at any time was, in Europe.

*Sir T. W. Holderness in *Peoples and Problems of India.*

The European peoples belong to the same division of mankind—the great White family. The Indian races are descended from all the three great families of man, namely, the White, the Yellow and the Black families. Europe is twenty-five nation-states. Is India one nation ?

The Indo-Aryan family of speech includes English, German, Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit, besides many other European and Indian languages. Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam, the languages spoken in South India, are Dravidian languages and do not belong to the Indo-Aryan family of speech. A Punjabi and a Scandinavian are closer allied in speech than the same Punjabi and an inhabitant of Madras. Apparently there is very little common between a Punjabi and a Scandinavian. Can there be much common between a Punjabi and a Madrasi ?

When mankind spread over a large area of the earth's surface, the people of particular regions developed distinctive characteristics and were distinguished from the people of other regions. Internal unity and organization among the peoples of different regions and recognition of the differences between the people of one land and those of another is the basis on which the modern European political system stands. If Europe had been dominated by levelling imperial systems for centuries at a stretch, there would have been no European expansion, no conquest of nature by machines, and probably no ideas of "liberty, equality and fraternity." On the other hand, if the upheavals of time had permitted the Indian nations to work out their separate destinies unhindered, the world



INDIA AND EUROPE ON THE SAME SCALE

would have been a different place from what it is today.

Like Europe, India holds within its boundaries a number of distinct nation-states ; and there is as little likelihood of the emergence of a united Indian nation as of the formation of a closely federated United States of Europe. The history of the world in general and of Europe in particular shows that nature permits political unity and cohesion among limited numbers within limited areas. A nation-state of 350,000,000 people of different races is a natural impossibility.

Mankind is divided into three great families—the White, the Yellow and the Black. The great White family includes the peoples of North Africa, Arabia, Europe, Iran, Afghanistan and North India. The North Africans and the Arabs speak Hamitic and Semitic languages while the people of Europe, Iran, Afghanistan and North India speak languages belonging to the Indo-European division of human speech. The great Yellow family includes the Japanese, Chinese, Asiatic Russians, and the people of Eastern India and Malaya. All these races speak Mongolian languages. In the Black family are included the Negroes of South and Central Africa, the Dravidians of South India, and the aborigines of Australia. The Black races speak their own languages, which are quite different from the languages of other families of man.

Racially the Indian people are more heterogeneous than the people of any other region of equal area on the surface of the globe. In comparison with the racial diversity in India the racial differences of the European nations are secondary and unimportant.

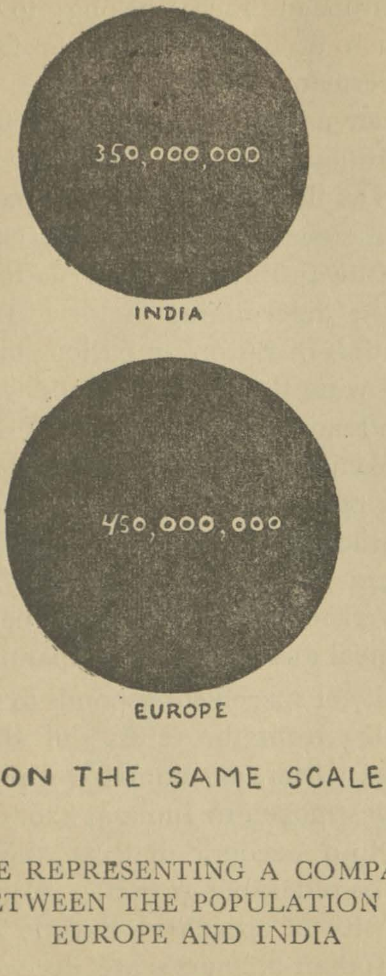


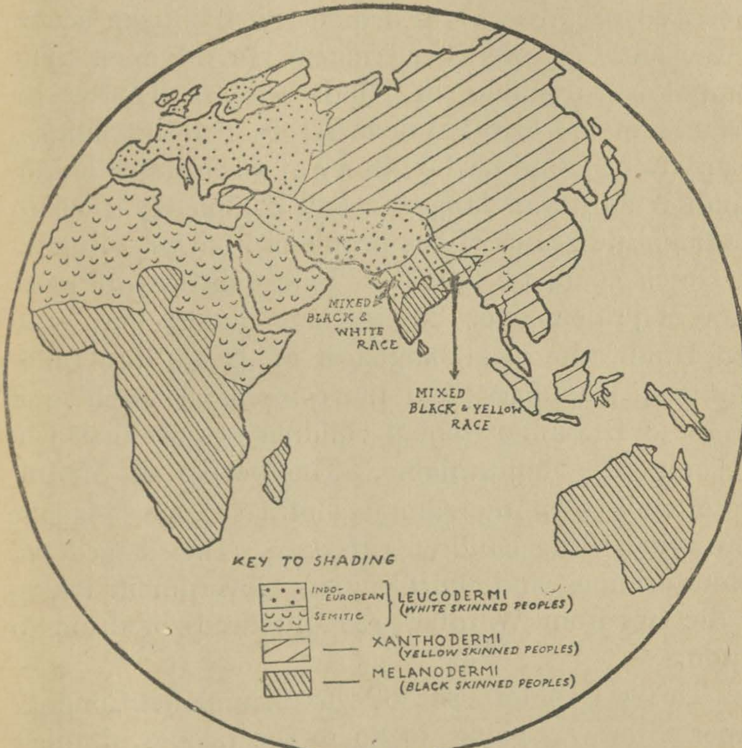
FIGURE REPRESENTING A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE POPULATION OF EUROPE AND INDIA

One-fifth of the total human population of the world live within the boundaries of the Indian Empire. A democracy of over 350 million white, black and yellow people is a natural impossibility.

Almost all European races belong to the Indo-European branch of the great White family. The French, the Germans, the British, the Italians—in fact all European nations with the exception of the Finns and the Hungarians, are derived from the same Aryan stock. Despite their common parentage the minor racial differences of the Europeans have given rise to some acute problems of international politics. Race remains the determining factor in the demarcation of the frontiers of European nation-states.

In contrast with the European races which are all derived from the same family of man, the Indian races are derived from all the three great families of mankind. The people of North India are white, the Madrasis and other South Indians are black, and the people of Eastern India and Burma are of the yellow Tibeto-Chinese race. The differences between these races are biological and naturally insuperable.

The diversity of speech corresponds to the diversity of race. Working from the returns of the census of 1931 Sir George Grierson estimated the number of distinct languages spoken in India at 225. His estimate does not take into account dialects, the number of which must be considerably greater. Compared with India the diversity of speech in Europe is much less. While the 225 Indian languages are derived from nine families of speech, 45 out of the 60 European languages belong to one family, *viz.*, the Indo-European group. It passes comprehension how those who regard Europe as divided into irreconcilably distinct nations should persist in calling the peoples of India one nation. Their hardihood in the face of such indisputable

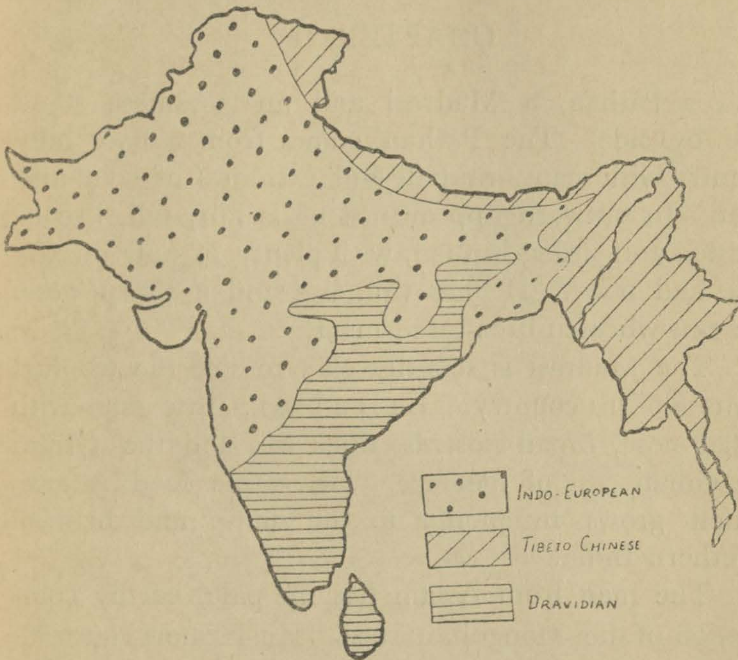


THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACES OF MAN IN THE OLD WORLD BEFORE EUROPEAN EXPANSION

evidence is due to something worse than mere folly or ignorance.

How the rights of a peaceful and unaggressive people may be violated by their politically more advanced neighbours was demonstrated by the action of the last Congress Government in Madras. The compulsory teaching of Hindi was as flagrant an instance of the high-handedness of alien domination as any to be found in the history of world imperialism. Hindi is an Aryan language and completely alien to the linguistic genius of the people of Madras. English or Dutch could be taught in Delhi schools with more show of justice, since English and Dutch, like Urdu and Hindi, the local languages of Delhi, are Indo-European languages ; but the compulsory teaching of Hindi to Dravidian school children against their will is completely unjustifiable. The people of Madras protested against the ramming of a strange language down their little children's throats. They staged big demonstrations, and the Congress Government taking its dictates from Wardha, sent hundreds of them to prison.

This was a foretaste of what rampant Congress imperialism was going to do to the people of other races and other lands. How the Congress who profess their mission to be the liberation of the oppressed could violate the first natural rights of a people put for a while in their power can be understood only by those who understand the selfish and ambitious materialistic aims of the Aryo-Dravidian imperialists at Wardha. There will be better occasion to say more about them later.



INDIA—MAIN LANGUAGE FAMILIES

The diversity of speech in India is greater than in any other area of similar size in the world. Two hundred and twenty-five distinct languages derived from nine main families of speech are spoken by the different Indian peoples; while in the continent of Europe sixty distinct languages are spoken and forty-five of them belong to the same family.

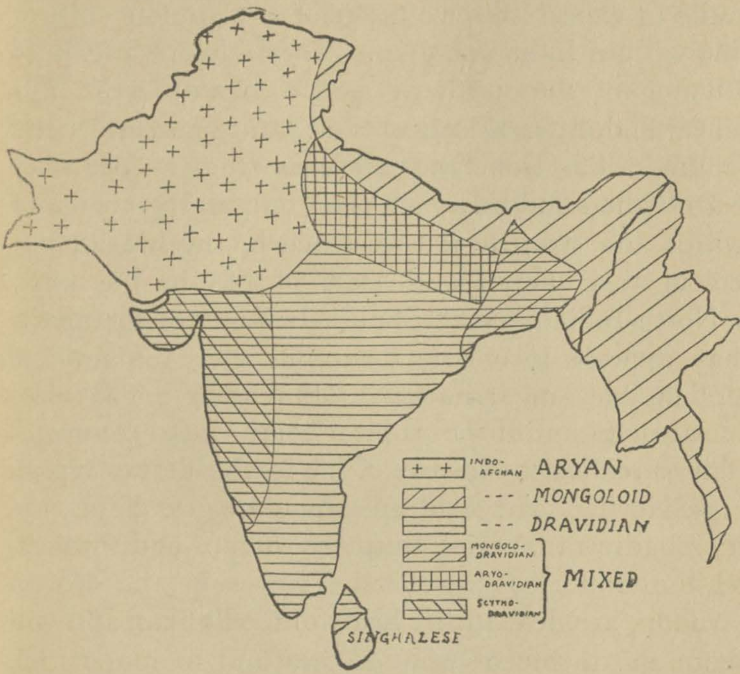
CHAPTER II

LET a Pathan, a Madrasi and an Assamese stand side by side. The Pathan comes from a bare hilly country with scanty rainfall and extremes of cold and heat. In outward appearance he is fair, tall, broad-chested and strong limbed, with plenty of hair on the face and body. He has thin lips and a sharp nose. He eats wheaten bread and meat.

The Madrasi is scantily clad to suit the tropical climate of his country. He is a black, little man with a flat nose, broad nostrils, thick lips and the typical Dravidian cast of the face. His staple food is rice, which grows in plenty in the damp and heat of Southern India.

The man from Assam has the pale, earthy complexion of the Mongolian race. He is short-statured, and has a flat nose, high cheek bones and very narrow eyes like slits. The hair on his head is quite straight. There is a small tuft of thin straggling hair on his chin, but his yellow limbs are quite hairless. Like the Madrasi his staple food is rice, and he can grow it with ease in the monsoon climate of his homeland.

These three individuals represent three main types of humanity. They belong to three different varieties of the specie *homo sapiens*. They can come to an understanding with each other on the basis of their common humanity, but it is unnatural and absurd to expect them to co-operate and organize interdependent living on a basis of common nationality.



INDIA—RACIAL

India has been called 'a museum of races.' All the three great families of man are represented among the Indian peoples. The people of the North-West are of the Indo-European or Aryan branch of the great White family; those of the South are Dravidians; the people of the East are of the Yellow Mongolian stock and in the Central regions of the sub-continent the population is of mixed origin. The diversity of race in India is much greater than in the continent of Europe, where by far the largest number of people are Aryans.

With the differences of nature to divide them, it is futile to expect the evolution of a common culture of the various Indian peoples. The Indo-Aryan wheat cultivator of the northern steppes has different preferences and different concepts of beauty and greatness of human life from the preferences and ideals of the Dravidian South-Indian. Not only in their attitude towards the struggle for existence in this world, but even in their hopes and fears of life in the next, the North-Indian and the South-Indian are far apart. What appeals to one as beautiful and romantic is unintelligible and irritating to the other. The rice-eating inhabitant of the tropical South would completely fail to realize the beauty of life in the desert-steppes of the North. The arid splendour of dry plains, the fairy shades of acacias swept by fiery August winds, and the music of the Persian-wheel in the drowsy afternoon, are dear to the heart of the Punjabi and will remain the theme of what is beautiful to him in life and literature.

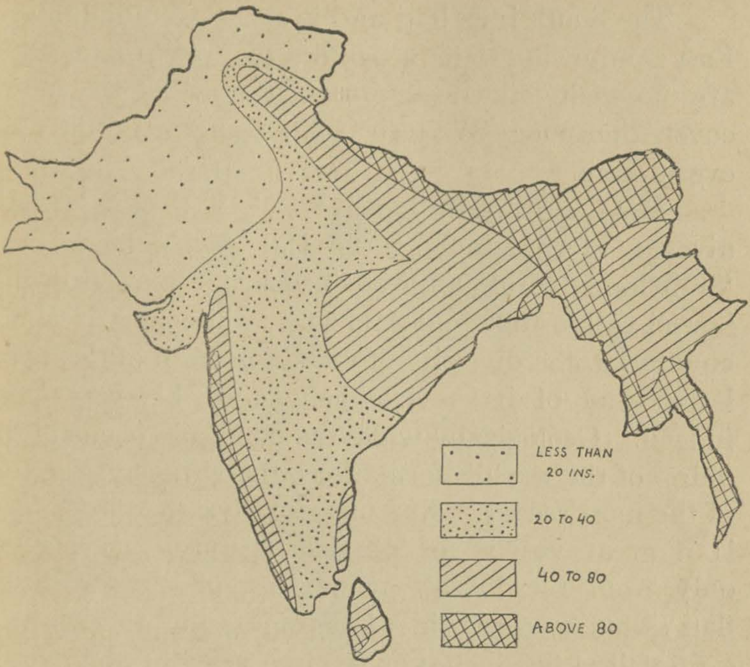
The finest realization of the beauty of social living and cultural progress can be had when people with close ties of blood lead a recognizedly separate social and political existence. The forced agglomeration of races and cultures demoralizes public life. The feelings of kinship and patriotism create "the spirit of the hive" which is the basic spirit of all healthy human association. This is borne out by the prevailing world conditions. Nations that are racial units are strong, ardent and progressive. They are feared and they dominate. Countries which, like India, are made up of a number of distinct regions inhabited by several

distinct races, contain a disheartened, narrow-minded and weak-charactered people, who have no higher loyalties than those they owe to their homes and hearths. When in a country a number of races live side by side without mixing freely, internal corruption, large-scale vulgarity in public life, disregard of delicacy and fine feeling in social contacts, crime and gangsterdom are the result.

CHAPTER III

INDIA possesses as great a diversity of climate as any other region of equal area on the surface of the globe. The North-West is steppe-land and desert. Average rainfall in most of this region is less than 20 inches, and over large areas does not exceed 5 inches per year. Before the introduction of artificial irrigation with canals, a large part of the now populous province of the Punjab was scrub-land with an average population of less than ten persons to the square mile. Even today its vast plains are almost treeless, and in the absence of irrigation revert to their original barrenness. All over this region there are seasons of extreme cold and heat. The summer winds sweep the treeless countryside like sheets of flame, shrivelling up all surface growth before them. Except where canal or well water is available, all verdure perishes and the sun appears to bake the naked clay brown. In winter the minimum temperature at night sinks below the freezing-point of water, but the days are sunny and mild. The main irrigation crops are wheat and cotton with some maize, millet and sugarcane.

The monsoonal East gets about 100 inches of average rainfall every year. The rain relieves the summer heat, and the winters are very mild. Rice grows plentifully in the heat and moisture, and exuberant vegetation covers every path of untilled ground. In Bengal the monsoon forests are so thick as to be impassable, and the soil is swampy with excess of moisture.



INDIA—CLIMATE, I

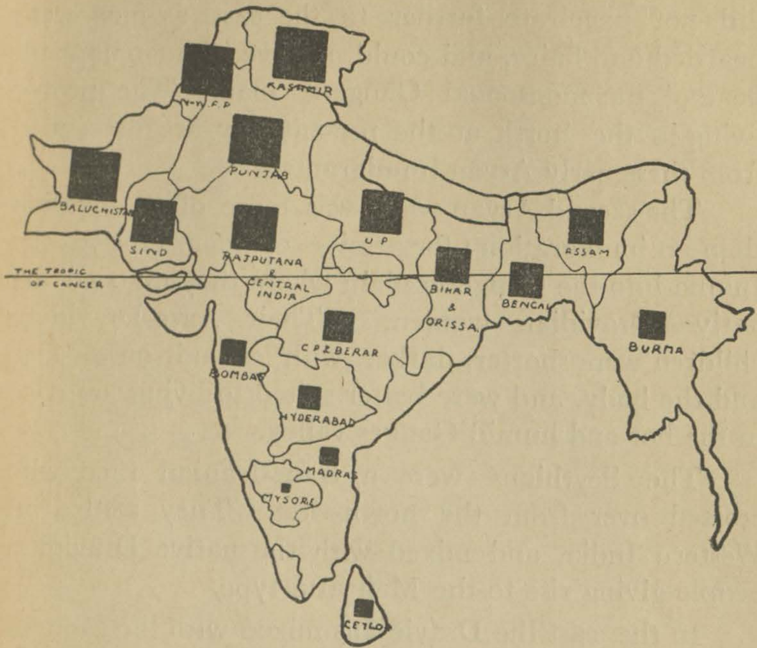
(Annual Rainfall)

Among climatic factors influencing human environment and occupations rainfall is the most important. In India it varies between the greatest extremes. In 1861 in Cherapunji in Eastern India 905 inches (over 25 yards) of rainfall was recorded while in some years at some places in the North-West there has been no rainfall whatever ! The North-West in its dryness is distinct from the rest of the sub-continent.

The South is as hot, and in parts as humid, as the East; and owing to its proximity to the Equator there are no well-defined seasons. Luxuriant vegetation covers the spongy Western Ghats and rice is cultivated everywhere.

The Census of India Report of 1931 sums up the diversity of climate and physical environment thus: "Obviously within an area of such size part of which is well within the temperate zone, while part is almost equatorial, the diversity of condition both of the population and of its environment must be very great indeed. Geologically while the peninsula is one of the oldest of the world's formations, the Himalayas are one of the most recent. Not unnaturally, therefore, there is a great variety of physical feature, varying not only from the loftiest mountains of the world to flats salted by every tide, but from sandy deserts with a rainfall of five inches or less in a year in the North-West to thickly wooded evergreen hills which have never less than 100 inches and here and there get 500 inches of rain or even more in the east and south. Again in Northern India there are extremes of temperature—120 degrees of heat dropping to cold below freezing-point, while in the South the temperature is almost static in its heat and humidity."

In the prehistoric past climate was the deciding factor in the spreading of races in India. When the Aryans first migrated from Central Asia into India, they settled in the plains of the North-West. The Indus plain is dry like the steppes of Central Asia, and experiences extremes of cold and heat. The early Aryans settled in these congenial surroundings. They



INDIA—CLIMATE, II

Map showing the relative difference of the average summer (June) and winter (January) temperatures in the various provinces and states. The black squares which represent the difference are in scale.

Very cold winters and extremely hot summers give the North-West a striking climatic individuality. The highest temperatures in the world have been recorded in South-western Punjab where the winter minima sink below the freezing-point of water.

did not penetrate further to the east, as men were bearded and hairy, and could not live in the damp and heat of the monsoonal Gangetic plain. The people living in the north at the present day are descended from these early Aryan immigrants.

The second Aryan wave was more of an invasion than an immigration ; for armies of men crossed the Jumna into the Gangetic plain where they married the native Dravidian women. Their Aryo-Dravidian children were shorter, darker, with less hair on the face and the body, and were better suited to living on rice in the hot and humid Ganges valley.

The Scythians were a trans-Iranian race who crossed over from the north-west. They settled in Western India, and mixed with the native Dravidian people giving rise to the Mahratta type.

In the east the Dravidians mixed with the Mongoloid races and the virile Bengalee type was the result. In the damp and heat of Bengal, where an Aryan would languish and grow anæmic, the Mongolo-Dravidian lives an active and energetic life.

Climate determines what a man will eat and drink, what he will wear, when and how he will work and rest, what things will trouble him in life and what others please and comfort him. When a people have been living for generations under certain climatic influences, they, as a community, acquire a particular outlook on life which governs their activity of the intellect and spirit. Their aspirations and ambitions are embodied in their art and literature in the terms of the forces of nature they have to combat or harness to their use. The struggle for existence they have to wage

amidst their peculiar surroundings dictates to them their code of social behaviour, which, after generations of usage, hardens into customs and conventions that constitute the framework of society. Thus hospitality ranks high among social virtues in a desert civilization, where the inexorable forces of devastation and destruction constantly lie in wait for life. The desolate immensity of desert distances and the jewelled brightness of the heavens in desert nights lead the human mind to muse upon the unfathomable mystery of the universe, and bow down before the mightiness of the Supreme Creator of infinite spaces and everlasting time. The religious occultism and spirit-worship of the Hindus is primarily due to the uncertainty of life in the crowded regions of the tropics. The monsoon lightning, the poisonous cobra, the smallpox, and other destroying forces strike suddenly and swiftly. They are feared and worshipped as inexplicable and capricious but powerful deities who may be conciliated by offerings of prayers and sacrifice.

The occupation, mode of life, habit of thought and biological evolution of man are so far subservient to climatic control, that people of the same race acquire different physical and mental characteristics, when subjected for generations to different climatic influences. When a number of different races have been living in different climatic conditions for ages, it is not possible that there should be much common between them. Bengal with its 80 inches of annual rainfall, its hot and humid atmosphere, its rice fields, its impenetrable thick forests, its mighty cities and its amazingly dense population of dark, lithe, jute and

rice cultivators, is a different world from the Punjab with its dry, treeless plains, its extremely cold winters and extremely hot summers, its desert flora and fauna, and its comparatively sparse population of tall, big-boned Aryan wheat and cotton growers.

CHAPTER IV

IN the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to show how big and heterogeneous India is. This is by no means a novel idea; on the contrary no fact is more often repeated than that India is not one country but a continent comprising several countries. All travellers, politicians, geographers, historians and others who have written about India, have commented upon the immense diversity of race, culture and climate that the great sub-continent shows. A volume containing all that has been said by various authors about the heterogeneous character of Indian peoples and their cultural and climatic environment would comprise several hundreds of pages. A number of commissions having the highest official authorities on their personnel have sat at different times to consider various aspects of the "Indian Problem." Their reports have invariably been prefaced with elaborate statements of the incompatibility of various Indian interests, and the enormous dissimilarity of climate, physical environment, race, language, religion, custom and manners of the inhabitants of the far-flung Indian countries. Individual authorities of international repute have made careful scientific estimates of conditions in India. By way of example, Prof. L. W. Lyde and Sir T. W. Holderness are quoted here. Scores of lesser authorities have expressed similar opinions. In his *Continent of Asia* Prof. L. W. Lyde writes, " . . .

India is merely a geographical label for an area in which successive conquests from the north-west have left a chaos of racial elements. So far from its containing a nation, for 2,000 years before the English reached the land, even Hindu India had never had a national government. . . ." Speaking of early European traders Prof. Lyde writes, "Unfortunately a century of experience left these traders with a clear understanding that India was only a geographical expression and that its people were of varied race and speech for ever at war with one another. . . ." Elsewhere he writes, "The wish to 'see the problem whole' must face a multitude of differences and disunities that can be related to diversities of relief and climate, of outlook and activities, and its actual result would be exactly the opposite of that suggested by the words. For there is only one obvious unity in India today and that is a unity of British control. . . ."

Under the sub-heading "Size" Prof. Lyde says, "Size is the significant characteristic of all the three structural and relief divisions of the area." The three divisions here referred to being the northern mountainous mass, the Indo-Gangetic plain and the southern peninsula. "But," he proceeds, "in spite of their size neither the plain nor the peninsula has any natural race home, and the absence of a nodal nursery only exaggerated the evils of size, each unit being too large to allow of the natural unity of race and speech and interest which is likely to breed political coherence and independence. There was never any reasonable hope of the whole organising itself, still less of its organising any outside area ; . . . and even the Indo-Gangetic plain,

as the double name may suggest, was not a real unit. Indeed the Jumna has constantly been a political frontier, *e.g.*, for Kanishka's Empire (A. D. 120), for the Gupta Empire (A. D. 350), for the empire of the White Huns (A.D. c. 500), etc."

Under the sub-heading " Incoherence " Prof. Lyde writes, " With three great racial types, three main families of speech, three conflicting creeds, it remains a complex of several countries and many peoples, with no really common ground, not even in custom or in staple foods."

In his *Peoples and Problems of India* Sir T. W. Holderness writes :

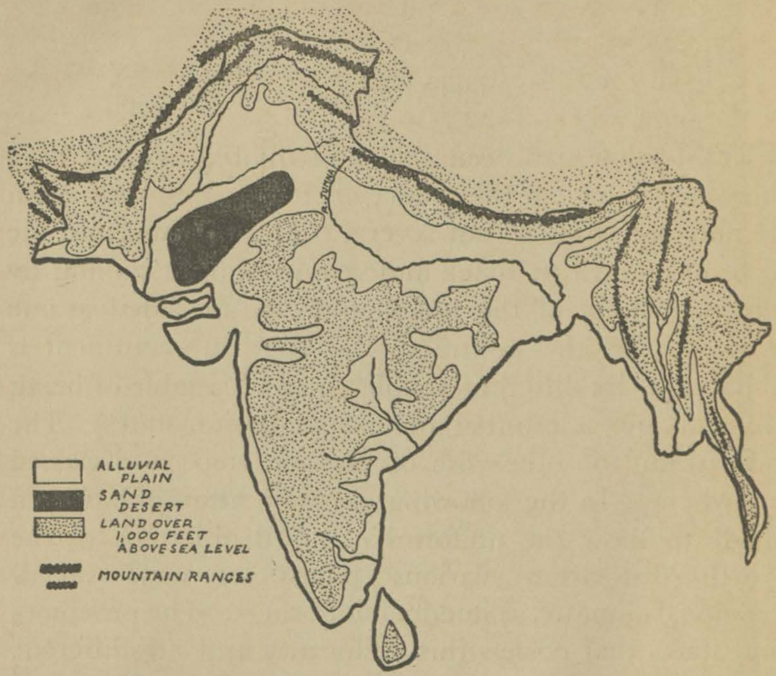
" The map of Asia shows India as a large irregular triangle projecting southwards into the Indian Ocean. Relatively to the rest of Asia the sub-continent looks small but it is larger than Europe without Russia and contains one-fifth of the human race. It is not one country as we know countries in Europe, but many countries. Its southern extremity is within ten degrees of the equator. Its most northerly point is about the latitude of Lisbon. The two points are distant from each other nearly two thousand miles. From extreme east to extreme west along the northern boundary the distance is equally great. In so extensive a region there is room for many climates and in fact India in this respect presents greater contrasts than do the countries of Europe. An Englishman who travels through Europe to Southern Greece is struck by the variety of climates through which he passes. But he would be much more struck by the contrast which the Malabar coast with its beauty and tropical luxuri-

ance presents to the treeless plains of the Punjab, or the hills and glades of Central India to the rice fields and plain groves of lower Bengal. The difference is not merely in scenery but in every climatic condition. In Malabar there is the perpetual summer of the tropics with the heat and moisture of a forcing house. In the Punjab there are extremes of cold and heat. For most of the year its plains are brown and arid, scorched in summer with fiery winds like the blast of a furnace; in winter they are clothed in a mantle of green crops while the climate is that of a Riviera winter. In Central India there are well-defined seasons of heat and cold with no great extremes. Heat and moisture predominate in Bengal and make it one of the dampest and greenest countries of the earth. Still greater contrasts would be found if the Himalayan region and the desert of Sind were included in the account. The Himalayas themselves exhibit every gradation of cold and heat, of luxuriance and sterility, of loveliness and desolation. But enough has been said to make it clear that India is a continent, not a country, and a continent of infinite variety."

CHAPTER V

FROM what has been said and quoted, it must have become evident to the reader of these pages, that India is not one country but several countries; and that the 350 million white, black and yellow Indians cannot, by any stretching of the imagination, be regarded as one nation. On the contrary, the huge sub-continent is inhabited by different peoples, and is capable of being divided into a number of distinct nation-states. The advisability or otherwise of such a step is discussed elsewhere. In the following pages an attempt has been made to show the uniformity and distinctness of the North-West from various points of view—racial, religious, climatic, economic and others. The provinces and states that possess this uniformity and are different from the rest of India are the Punjab, Delhi, Kashmir, the N. W. F. P., Baluchistan, Sind and North-western Rajputana. Most of the inhabitants of this region who desire to win political independence for their motherland have given it the name of Pakistan, and in subsequent pages this name will be used for the region comprising the aforementioned provinces and states of North-western India.

The natural frontiers of Pakistan are obvious. High mountain ranges lie to the north and the west. For ages past they have prevented any influx of the Mongoloid races of Central Asia, and have sheltered the Indian plains from the cold winds of the north.



INDIA—PHYSICAL

Pakistan is a natural unit. The mountain walls to the north and west, the desert in the south and the Jumna in the east are inevitable racial, cultural and political frontiers.

The distinctive climate of the region is due as much to its being enclosed on two sides by high mountain walls as to any other cause.

To the south is the Thar Desert which has been in the past, and still remains, a formidable barrier between the Indus plain and the Deccan plateau. With an average breadth of about two hundred miles the Thar sand belt has always prevented free communication between the north and the south, preserving and promoting the tremendous gulf between the plain and the peninsula.

The River Jumna marks the eastern limit of ancient Aryan settlement. It has already been said that the Aryan tribes of the first invasion, including men, women and children, settled on the Pakistan side of Jumna. They drove out the original inhabitants and preserved their purity of race. The river was later crossed and the country to the east penetrated by hordes of Aryan men who married the native Dravidian women. The resultant Aryo-Dravidian race has since inhabited the Ganges valley. We thus see that the Jumna is a racial frontier marking " the eastern limit of the original Indo-Aryan settlement, and the western limit of the Indo-Aryan colonization."

Historically, the Jumna has constantly been a political frontier. Today it forms the boundary-line between the Punjab and the United Provinces—two culturally distinct regions. Writing about Delhi which lies on the River Jumna Prof. Lyde says, " If numbers and volubility are to the east vitality and action are to the west, and if some unprejudiced third party has neither the will nor the power to hold an even balance

between the two, Delhi will run with blood again." When the people of the two regions recognize their mutual differences, and allow for them in the adjustment of their mutual relations, not much use will remain for the " unprejudiced third party."

CHAPTER VI

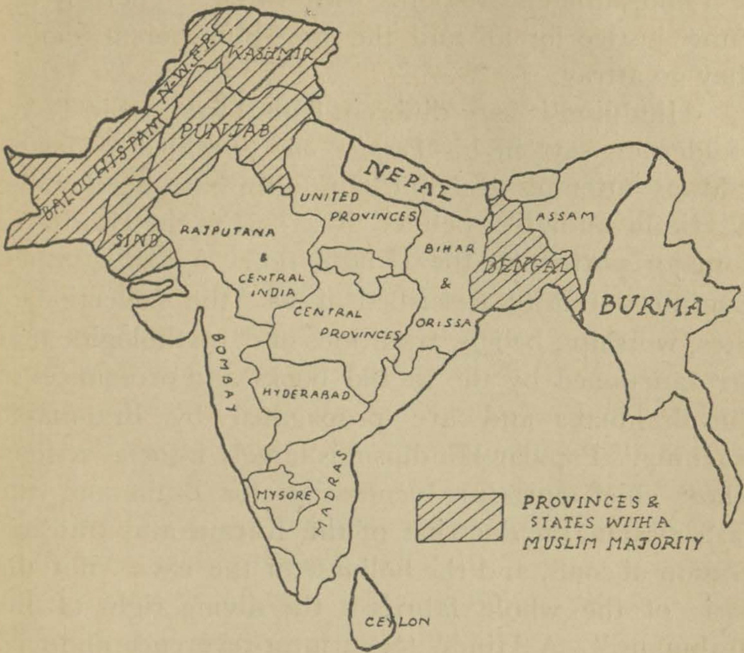
SPEAKING in the House of Lords on the Indian Councils' Bill Lord Morley said, "The difference between Mohammadanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith or dogma. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social things as well as articles of belief that constitute a community."

To the Indian Muslim religion is not merely a feeling of necessity for social and moral goodness or an artistic preference for a system of metaphysics symbolically externalized in picturesque ritual; it is for him a complete code of life, which has laid down the laws of action and belief to be followed from birth to death. From rules of personal hygiene to laws of matrimony and divorce and injunctions regarding obligations to the state, complete guidance for the individual is contained in the teachings of Islam. Whatever his race or environment may be, the Musalman follows the unvarying dictates of his religion which link him with his brethren in faith all over the world. In this respect Islam has been the greatest equalizing force in human development. All over the world the millions of Musalmans pray five times a day. Their essential beliefs are embodied in the *Kalima*, the most-often-repeated sentence in human speech. They fast from sunrise to sunset on thirty days in the year and observe the same festivals, the universal *'Ids*.

One-fortieth of their worldly wealth must every year be given away in charity. Every Muslim must once in his life attend the great assemblage of his co-religionists from all over the world where people of all races and all countries come and pray as men before their Maker. Among those that are assembled thus are Indians and Chinese, Negroes and Europeans, rulers of millions and those that have begged their way to Mecca, but, once in the *Kaaba*, they are all equal, all *Hadjees*, and no one may feel for a moment that he is not the equal of all the world. Such is the greatest international assembly in the world, where there are no ranks, no privileges. Supreme quality, supreme justice and supreme submission are its everlasting laws.

This was the faith that spread from the Pacific to the Atlantic in less than half a century, but never did its followers proclaim themselves superior to other men, and they do not do so today ; nor do they admit that others can be superior to them.

Islam is a practical religion. A good Musalman is an active member of society who makes money, begets children and fights for justice. No premium is put on contemplation of the mysteries of the Infinite. The imagination is given other work to do than the projection of a hierarchy of gods and goddesses responsible for the management of the world. The inexplicability of the fact of existence is admitted to be ultimate, and the necessity of belief in a Supreme Creator permits no hopeless quest of the Unattainable. All men, black, white and yellow, are equal in the eyes of their Maker and His men have no right to think otherwise. The rich man is no better than the poor man, nor the son



REGIONS WITH A MUSLIM MAJORITY IN INDIA

Events of the recent past have shown that the Aryo-Dravidian Hindu Nationalism seeks to strengthen itself by turning its hatred and its destructive forces against the Muslim minority. Only by seeking a separate determination of their national self can the Muslims of the North-Western and Eastern India effectively safeguard their rights.

of a king different from his own vassal. There is the same justice for all and the same punishment, should they go astray.

Hinduism is very different from Islam. Sir T. W. Holderness says in his *Peoples and Problems of India :* "Many attempts to define Hinduism have been made. A Hindu authority defined it as 'what the Hindus or a major portion of the Hindus do.' A distinguished English authority described it as 'the collection of rites, worships, beliefs, traditions and mythologies that are sanctioned by the sacred books and ordinances of the Brahmans and are propagated by Brahmanic teaching.' Popular Hinduism is largely a social system, whose chief tenets are veneration for Brahmans, the caste system, the doctrine of the Karma and transmigration of souls, and the holiness of the cow. But the basis of the whole fabric is the divine right of the Brahmans." A Hindu ". . . must reverence and feed the Brahmans, he must abide by caste rules and restrictions, he must preserve himself from ceremonial pollution and from contact and communion with the unclean."

How far identical the religion and social system of the Hindus are is made clear by the following remarks :

"With us there is no necessary connection between a man's religion and his place in society. In India at least among the Hindus who form the bulk of the population, caste determines each man's vocation, and his actions from the cradle to the grave, and caste as an institution is a bundle of religious precepts and prohibitions. We read in Tennyson's 'In Memoriam' of the person 'who breaks his birth's invidious bar.'

No Hindu can do that . . . . . It is largely due to caste that the earning power of Indians is low and their circumstances often embarrassed. The high-caste man may not drive a plough or keep a shop ; caste and religion make it obligatory that he should marry a wife before he can support a family, that he should find a husband for his daughter before she is grown up. Caste may forbid him to kill plague-infected rats in his house and religion may require him to use a polluted well."

Hinduism is of the monsoon as Islam is of the desert. The exuberance of life in the hot and humid tropics is reflected in the multiplicity of deities and the elaborate ritual of their worship. The outsider finds it difficult to see any system in the far-removed symbolism of the multitudinous rites, customs and taboos observed by the Hindus. But a system is probably not to be looked for. Hinduism is an all-embracing name for a vast and unique civilisation based on great ideas. It is a way of being possible only in the leisured and passive crowdedness of an all-providing soil where the elements conspire to produce plenty and contentment.

The old Hindu society was planned on the great concept of division of labour. Excellence was assured by making specialisation compulsory in all arts of life. One section of the people must do nothing but fight and administer, another must read and write and pray, yet another must provide food for all, and a fourth must serve the first three. As has been said, it was a unique and a wonderful concept. Differences were agreed upon and perpetuated through the ages.

An individual was not a problem. The circumstances of his birth determined the course of his life and its end. Life flowed well-ordered through centuries.

Into this society came the rousing influence of Islam. The great kingdoms of India shrank to provinces before the virile mobility of the desert-dwellers, and the gates of her sleepy cities yielded to the glittering ambition of riders from beyond the horizon.

With their pride of equality the Muslims brought the love of justice and fairplay in the uncertain drama of life. They practised hospitality, courtesy and mercy to the fallen in their everyday life ; and built mighty domes and slender minarets to stand out in black outlines against Indian sunsets.

The somnolence of India was disturbed but the great mass was too stable to be shaken to its foundations. In the desert north-west Islam took its abode with all its vigour and vitality, its negation of the supernatural, and its teaching of universal equality. By the true Indian society at whose gates Indraprastha stood was not greatly affected. It only made room for the new-comers as a fighter and administrator caste, and the ancient divisions of caste stood rigid as before.

The new invasion of the West promises to affect India differently. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," the cry of the French Revolution and the ideal of modern man, has penetrated into the citadel of caste. There are tremors and shakings everywhere in the ancient edifice. Change has set in. It may gather speed and come to a cataclysmic end, or it may be a silent transformation. In either case its future, like

its past, will be unique.

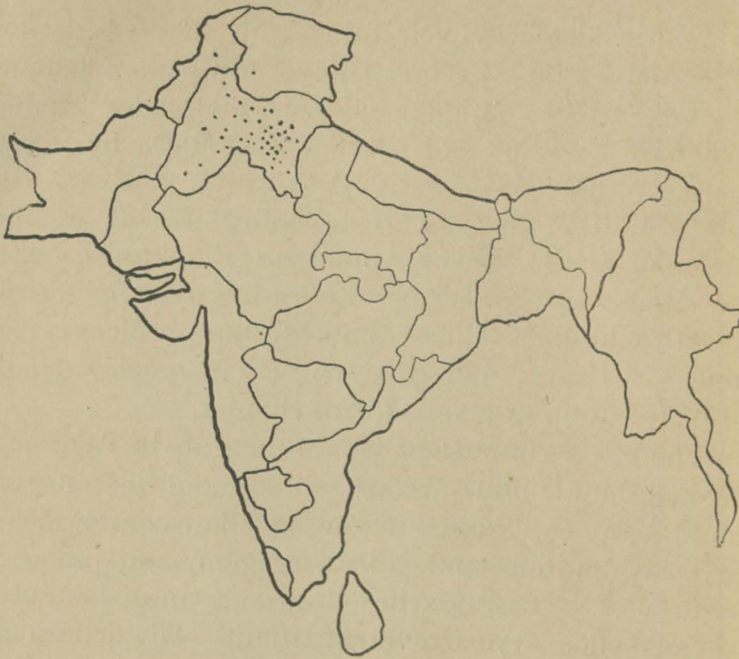
Thus we see that the Hindu and the Muslim societies are worlds apart. To yoke them together for good or ill would be unnatural and unjust. The work of the legislator and the social reformer will be different in Hindu India from what it will be in Pakistan. To make one representative body to legislate for both would be fair to neither, and would in practice prove particularly ruinous to the interests of Pakistan which is the smaller country. With a closely federated India considerations of caste etc. must carry great weight in the Federal Assembly, and the inhabitants of Pakistan which lies outside the orbit of caste would be compelled to accept alien and unsympathetic decisions. The Aryo-Dravidian Hindu legislators of the crowded monsoon-land would distort and obstruct the cultural development of the dry steppe-land of the Muslim North-West, although the process, if they attempt it, will be as little good for Wardha imperialists as for the Musalmans. It is not difficult to visualise the terrible internal wars being protracted through hundreds of years, while hatred will harden and differences become more and more difficult to reconcile with each advancing decade. A timely recognition of each other's separate existence, and a just agreement to respect each other's integrity will not only avert future bloodshed, but will also pave the way for closer co-operation in the times to come.

The Muslims form the majority of the population in the Punjab, Kashmir, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Bengal. Out of the total Muslim Indian population of 90 million people, 30

millions live in Bengal, about the same number in Pakistan, and the remaining thirty millions are distributed over other vast Indian countries. While Pakistan and Bengal are predominantly Muslim, the other Indian provinces and states are predominantly Hindu—the Muslims in these parts forming a substantial minority. Thus the Muslims form 15 per cent of the population in the United Provinces, 11 per cent in Bihar and Orissa, 32 per cent in Assam, 7 per cent in Madras and 8 per cent in Bombay. Everywhere they are racially and culturally distinct from the non-Muslims around them, and there being no distinction of caste among them a uniform racial type has evolved after centuries of free intermingling. This racial type is distinguished from the indigenous non-Muslim population by a larger nose, lighter complexion and larger build, and is of the same origin as the Indo-Afghan, or Pakistan, type. Uniformity of race, religion and culture has given the majority of the Indian Muslims a marked national individuality, which is thrown into sharp relief everywhere by being contrasted with the national characteristics of the non-Muslim peoples. Being unable to co-operate on a national basis with the non-Muslims (with whom they do not intermarry and have little social contact) the Indian Muslims are desirous of making a national home in North-Western India and Eastern India, where they are in a majority. The Hindus who are more numerous in India taken as a whole seek to thwart the Muslims in their natural and legitimate desire for being masters in their own home. There is a growing feeling among the Muslims that they will not be able to achieve the realisation of

their national self by peaceful means. There is slowly arising among the Muslim masses a grim determination to preserve their national existence and strive for the freedom of Pakistan and Muslim East India by every means within their power. With every passing year Hindu-Muslim relations are becoming worse; and in spheres of public service, commerce and industry the two nations are practising increasing discrimination against each other. The Hindu-Muslim problem is the problem of India, and its discussion in greater detail will be taken up in a subsequent chapter.

There is an important Hindu minority in Pakistan. The Pakistani Hindus are true children of the soil and are of the same race as their Muslim fellow-countrymen. They have a fine and liberal religion, and practise very little of the caste exclusionism and untouchability of the orthodox Aryo-Dravidian Hindu. The definition of Hinduism quoted by Sir T. W. Holderness which calls it "a tangled jungle of disorderly superstitions, ghosts and demons, demigods and deified saints, household gods, tribal gods, universal gods, with their countless shrines and temples and the din of their discordant rites—deities who abhor a fly's death and those who delight still in human victim," is certainly not applicable to the religion of the Pakistani Hindu. His is the practice of the Vedas and the post-Vedic scriptures, and his worship of the Supreme Being is accompanied with simplified and becoming ritual. Despite the inequalities of caste, contact with the Islamic world has given the Pakistani Hindus a democratic outlook on politics. Their speech like the speech of their Muslim neighbours is besprinkled with



DISTRIBUTION OF THE SIKH POPULATION IN INDIA

(Each dot represents 100,000 persons)

Almost the entire Indian Sikh population lies in the North-West. Pakistan will not only be one of the most important Muslim Powers but will also be the only Sikh Power in the world.

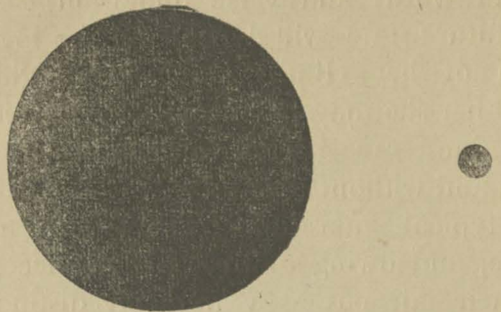
sonorous Persian words and verse quotations. The very life of the future states will depend on the loyalty and patriotism of her Hindu sons and daughters. Should they fail her she may be merged in Dravidian India, and the finest race in the world may be left without a home and without a name.

Sikhs are typical Pakistanis. They are of pure Indo-Aryan race, and owing to the religious necessity of wearing all their hair possess a markedly distinctive appearance. Most of them are agriculturists and live in villages.

Sikhism is a compromise between Hinduism and Islam. Guru Nanak, the great Punjabi pacifist, first preached the Sikh religion and won adherents in the area around Amritsar. Today Sikhs are found all over Pakistan and, as Prof. Lyde points out, give a distinctive tone to the country. By the census returns of 1931 there are four million three hundred and thirty-six thousand Sikhs living in India. More than ninety-five per cent of the total Indian Sikh population lies within Pakistan.

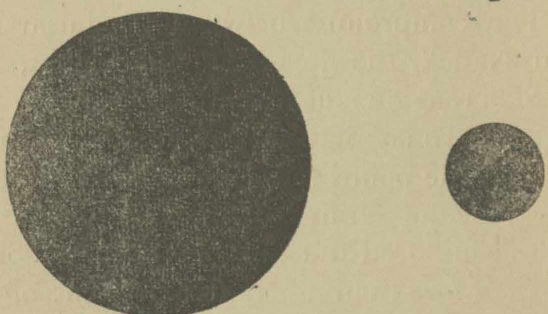
Taking India as a whole the Sikhs form less than 1·3 per cent of its total population. Evidently so small a minority can exercise no appreciable influence on the cultural and political development of the great sub-continent. It is most unlikely that in a closely federated India the Sikhs will be able to preserve their cultural and religious identity against the pressure of overwhelming numbers.

However, in the event of Pakistan becoming independent Sikhs will be in a different position. They will be an influential minority of landholders constituting about nine per cent of the population. National



TOTAL POPULATION OF INDIA — SIKH POPULATION OF INDIA

ON THE SAME SCALE



TOTAL POPULATION OF PAKISTAN — SIKH POPULATION OF PAKISTAN

ON THE SAME SCALE

The Sikh population forms less than 1·3 per cent of the total Indian population. In a democratic Pan-Indian State the microscopic Aryan Sikh minority will be completely submerged in the overwhelming Non-Aryan majority. In an independent Pakistan the Sikhs will form an important religious minority in the midst of a majority of their own flesh and blood.

self-determination for Pakistan will mean national self-determination for the Sikhs, and there will be no further danger of their being swamped by overwhelming millions of alien rice-eaters. An independent Pakistan will not only be one of the greatest Muslim Powers, she will also be the only Sikh Power in the world ; and it is for this reason that the Pakistani Muslims look to their Sikh brethren for co-operation in their efforts for liberation of the fatherland.

CHAPTER VII

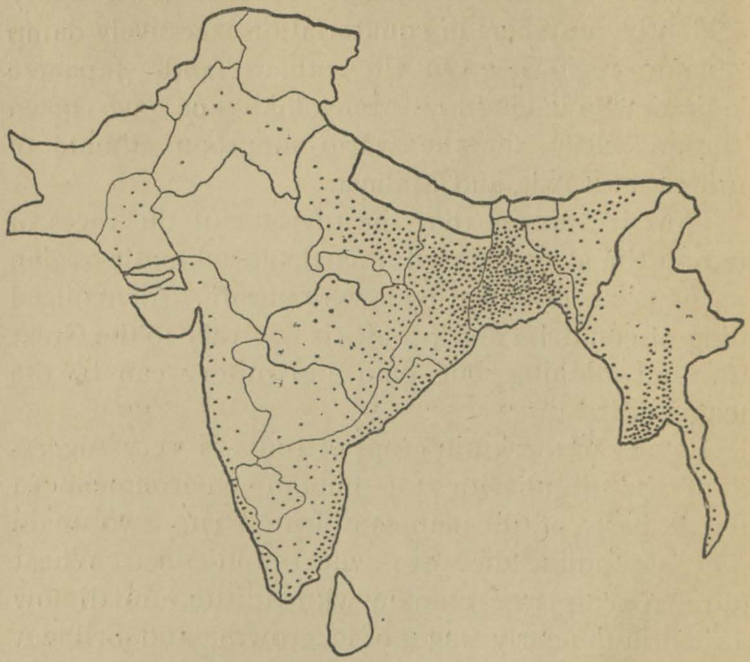
SOMEONE has said, "We are what we eat." Although our knowledge of chemical transubstantiation scarcely permits us to agree yet the statement is not without the truth which accompanies the obvious and the elemental. It is plain common-sense that the diet of a people depends on their environment, and affects their physical appearance and to a certain extent their mental outlook. Two essentially different types of beings will have an instinctive preference for different kinds of food. Among human beings the different races have different favourite diets. Wheat is the favourite foodgrain of the white peoples while the yellow and black races have a marked preference for rice. In the past the white races occupied the dry temperate regions of the world where wheat could be easily grown, and the climate suited them. The yellow races throve in the moist-temperate rice-lands, and the black peoples spread over the excessively damp and hot regions in the tropics. Today the biggest masses of Mongoloid and Negroid populations lie in the moist-temperate and moist-hot zones respectively, while the white races inhabit the comparatively drier lands in the temperate regions.

Modern means of travel and transport have enabled the surplus population from the congested centres of civilisation to emigrate to the wild regions in the newly-discovered continents. But people belonging to the

white races have not been able to settle down in any considerable numbers in equatorial or excessively damp temperate regions. On the other hand, Japanese colonisers who belong to a Mongoloid race have shown great preference for the warm monsoon climate of South-Eastern Asia and Malaya.

Thus it appears that the division of the races of man and the assignment of a particular climatic region to each race is ordained by laws of nature. All artificial joining of countries and peoples is contrary to the Great Plan, and nothing but pain and misery can be the outcome of it.

A study of the grain crops of India is very suggestive of the peculiarities of human environment in different parts of the sub-continent. The two main staples of Indian diet are wheat and rice. Wheat requires a temperate climate with a little rainfall now and then in the early stages of its growth, and brilliant sunshine and a dry atmosphere when it is near ripening. On the other hand rice needs a very great deal of moisture, and has to be grown over flat plains with water standing around the stalks. In the East and South where rainfall is very heavy rice grows plentifully, but it is impossible to grow any wheat as the plant cannot bear the excess of moisture. In the dry steppes of the north-west, millions of acres of wheat are sown, but rice can scarcely be forced up. Considering India as a whole rice forms its most important foodgrain crop. No less than 80 million acres of land in British India are sown with rice every year. It is noteworthy that Pakistan's share in it does not exceed two million acres, or 2·5 per cent of the whole. On the other



INDIA—THE DISTRIBUTION OF RICE

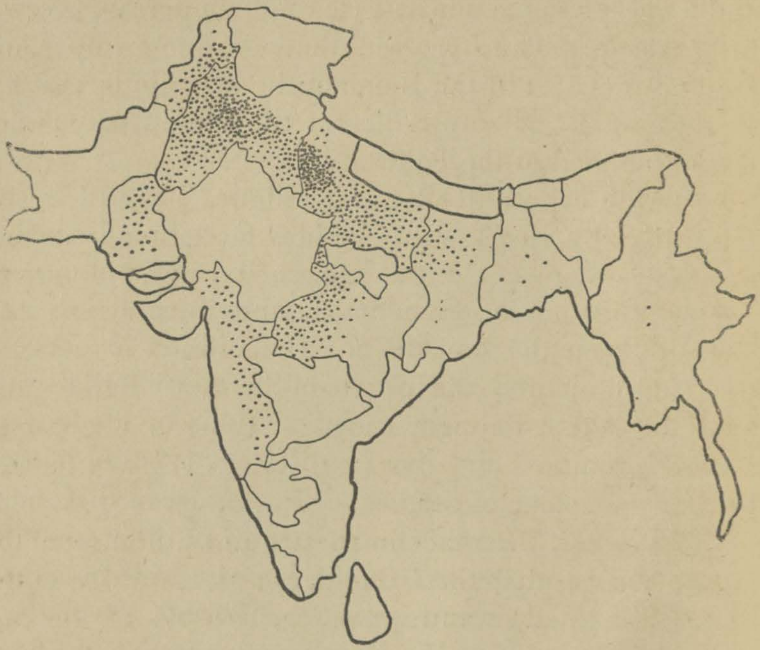
(Each dot represents 100,000 acres of rice crop)

Rice is the typical product of the monsoon-land. It is the staple food of Hindustan. The north-west is conspicuous by the smallness of the amount of rice grown here. The rice civilisation of the multitudinous non-Aryans stops at the Jumna and the dry steppe-lands of the Aryans or more particularly the Indo-Afghans (as Dr. A. C. Haddon calls them) begin here.

hand, of the 22 million acres of wheat grown in British India every year about half (ten million acres) is grown in Pakistan. Thus we see that the most important food crop of Hindustan is one of the least important for Pakistan, and the staple diet of the Hindustani is not the staple food of the Pakistani.

" Man cannot live by bread alone." Still less can man live by rice alone. Besides food human beings not only require clothes and shelter they also need poetry and music, love and ambition, religion and ideals to keep the soul alive. The difference between the Pakistanis and the people of Southern India is not merely this that they eat different kinds of food, wear different clothes, and live in different types of houses, or that the colour of their skin, the texture of their hair, and the cast of their faces and bodies is different—the big differences that these things give rise to is that their lives of the intellect and spirit are different. In matters of art and literature the South and the North have nothing in common.

The fact that the people of Pakistan eat wheat and the people of South India eat rice is symbolic of the climatic, racial and cultural distinctness of the two regions. It implies that Punjab is dry while Madras is monsoonal, that Punjab is steppe-land with extremes of cold and heat while Madras is green and damp and has no cold weather, that Punjabis are tall and fair and big-boned while Madrasis are short-statured and dark and sparely built, that Punjab villages have flat-roofed houses and mosques while villages in Madras have conical-roofed thatched cottages and temples and godlings, that Punjabis have an Aryan and Madrasis



THE DISTRIBUTION OF WHEAT IN BRITISH INDIA

(Each dot represents 30,000 acres of wheat crop)

Wheat is the favourite foodgrain of the white races. It grows in a dry climate. The staple food of Pakistan is wheat while the staple food of Hindustan is rice.

a different language—in short it means that Punjab and Madras are two about as different regions on God's earth as can be. Nothing illustrates the immense difference between the North and the South as the fact stated in the following extracts from Dr. Dudley Stamp's well-known geographical work *Asia*. Writing on agriculture in Madras Dr. Stamp says: ". . . By comparison with Northern India the absence of wheat is noteworthy . . . . Some years ago during a severe famine in Madras, supplies of wheat were rushed into the stricken area from the North. Yet such is variation in custom consequent upon the vastness of India and such the inherent conservatism of the ignorant masses that thousands died of starvation in sight of the untouched wagons of wheat."

While the difference in the art and literature of the North and South India is in a large measure due to the difference of environment of the people of the two regions, it is no less due to the fact that the minds which react to the environmental influences are lodged in biologically different organisms, which would respond differently and indicate different preferences and aversions even if they were subjected to similar influences. The wheat-eating Aryan and the rice-eating Dravidian would eat, drink, work and amuse themselves differently even when living amidst the same surroundings. It is physiologically impossible for them to share the minute enthusiasms and emotions which draw together the individuals of the same race and make them an ardent and patriotic nation.

When a Pakistani crosses the Jumna and travels eastwards through the Ganges valley he begins to feel

that he has left his homeland and is a stranger in a strange country. The people about him have indescribably alien looks. Probably they are of a smaller size generally, or probably they are darker and have flatter noses, or their lips are thicker and rather bluish—he cannot quite determine ; but somehow they are not the same as his own people. Some of them have light brown complexions and a few are almost fair, but somehow their brown is not the same as the brown of the North. Occasionally he sees a tall and strong man, but somehow not tall and strong in the same way as his own people. The countryside looks like a big marsh covered with the unfamiliar green of rice crops. The villages are strangely close to one another and appear unusually alike with naked dark children and pigs running about the lanes between mud-houses. The halting stations along the rail route are crowded with strange-looking, dark, little men and women. They are strangely dressed in bright coloured clothes, and speak to one another in shrill voices in a strange language. The man from the North feels he has come to a strange country among strange people, and when he is told he is in the heart of Hindustan he knows that he is not a Hindustani.

If we of the North-West are to have a homeland which would be a haven of mutual love and confidence, of pride in national existence, of liberty, equality and justice—if we are to feel with those who are our own flesh and blood a pervading patriotism which sweetens and ennobles civic life, our separate existence in the land of our birth must be recognised. We cannot let our identity be obliterated by suffering others who are

more numerous and more influential than ourselves to establish constitutional control over us. We owe it to the memory of our ancestors whose sacred dust is mingled in the dust of our fatherland that we do not give our heritage into others' keeping; and we owe it no less to our descendants in the ages to come that we leave them a free homeland and a tradition of honour and self-respect.

Indian readers of these pages will be able to verify what has been said so far by referring to their own experiences. Rarely if ever the Pakistani and Hindustani are able to meet as brother countrymen. There is always a feeling of strangeness—a dim realisation that there is something hidden in the character of each which the other cannot understand. The more one considers the situation the more it appears inevitable that it should be so. The facts do not permit any other conclusions. There is a small Bengali-Hindu community in Lahore. All of them live in the same suburb. They wear their own clothes, speak their own language, have their separate clubs and even buy their provisions from their own stores. To the people around them they are complete strangers; and it cannot be otherwise since they have nothing in common with them.

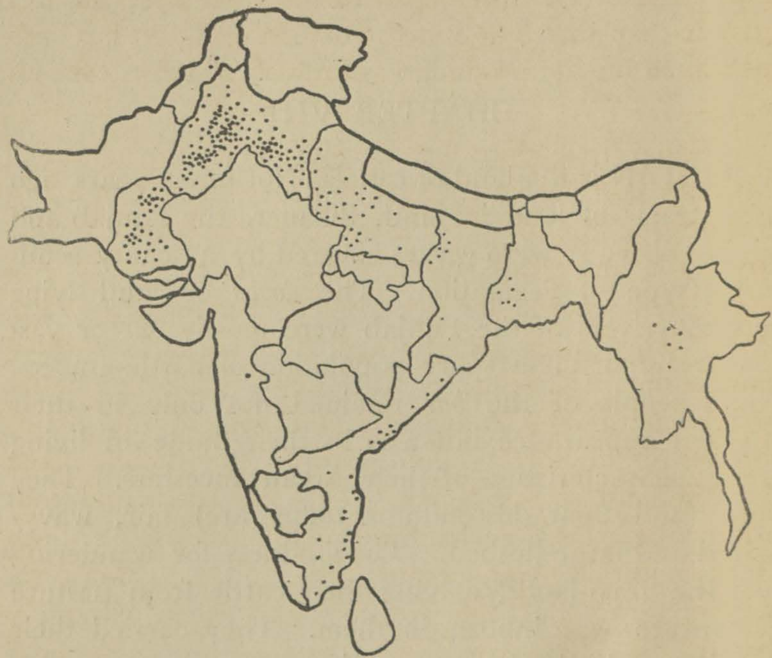
A third class railway carriage "for ladies only" is always a lively place. Its occupants represent the womanhood of the region in which the railway lies. They are representatives of the mothers of the millions that matter. It is amusing and touching to hear them talk about their husbands and children, about the prices of foodstuffs and the cost and durability of clothing, about the difficulty of managing growing boys

and finding matches for grown-up girls. All those things of which life is really made of are discussed and criticised with great animation by the matrons, and listened to with distant interest and an I-would-have-managed-that-better attitude by the girls. But not much talk of this kind could be possible between a Punjabi and a Bengali or a Pathan and a Madrasi woman. They cook different things for their households in different ways. They make different clothes of different materials for their husbands and children. They wear different clothes and jewels themselves and neither would dream of putting on the like of those worn by the other. They speak different languages. The physical appearance of each—the hair, the eyes, the complexion, the cast of the face and body are objects of curious regard for the other. Can there be any bond of sympathy between these women to link them as individuals of the same nation? It is difficult to see any. It is difficult not to think that those who are spending their wealth, their brains and their leisure upon imposing an artificial unity upon the different Indian peoples are bent upon perpetrating a colossal misdeed, the magnitude of which can scarcely be conceived at the present moment. They are impelled by rash idealism, greed and ignorance ; and if they fail to see reason the mother continent will be plunged into civil war, and the pain and misery of hatred and strife will be perpetuated through the ages to come.

CHAPTER VIII

PAKISTAN is the land of canals. Not many years ago large tracts of land in Sind, Bikaner, the Punjab and the N. W. F. P. were wastes covered by a scanty semi-desert type of vegetation. The *doabs* or land lying between rivers of the Punjab were mostly *bar* or vast heaths supporting a spare population of cattle-grazers. These people of the *bar* retained not only in their physical appearance but also in their mode of living many characteristics of their Aryan ancestors. They were (and their descendants today are) fair, wavy-haired and large-limbed. The fondness for wandering over the grass-lands, driving their cattle from pasture to pasture was inborn in them. They carried their worldly wealth in the shape of jewels on their persons, and when not composing songs and shouting them over the pasture distances, engaged themselves in the exciting hide-and-seek of stealing each other's cattle. The cattle thieves would drive their booty over hundreds of miles, the victimised owners following them with wonderful ingenuity and patience and finally overtaking them when a few broken heads were the not uncommon result.

With the advent of canal irrigation all this has changed. The Aryan cattle-grazers have settled down to agriculture and their number has greatly increased. Millions of acres of land previously covered with scrub and thorny bushes are today waving fields of wheat,



CANAL IRRIGATION IN INDIA

(Each dot represents 100,000 acres of land irrigated by canals)

Pakistan is a predominantly agricultural country and the economic and political life of her people will be that of an agricultural nation. Canal irrigation is the distinctive feature of the agriculture of Pakistan.

cotton and sugarcane. In Sind where the alluvial plains had become merged with the sand desert an area greater than the total cultivated land of Egypt has been reclaimed for the production of means of subsistence for man.

Canal irrigation has developed in the plains of Pakistan as it has nowhere else in the world. In a few decades the billions of cubic feet of water which flowed down the numerous rivers of the country to the sea have been secured for watering the semi-desert waste-land. The causes for this arise from conditions which lend a distinct and never-to-be-destroyed individuality to the country. Geologically, the soil of the plains consists of alluvium brought down by the streams from the highland of the North. This soil was capable of supporting a large agricultural population provided the other condition for successful cultivation, *viz.*, moisture, was present. But the North-West was an extremely dry region. Lying on the farthest edge of monsoonal influences, it possessed a climate which completely differentiated it from the green and populous Gangetic plain which stretched for hundreds of miles to the east. The scarcity of rainfall actually caused a considerable part of the region to become an arid waste, and its dryness along with the seasonal extremes of cold and heat climatically linked it with the parched Iranian plateau. In its climate, vegetation and animals North-western India was (and has only partially ceased to be) an easterly continuation of the vast desert masses of South-western Asia. There was, however, one potential supply of water which the artifice of man was to exploit on a scale unparalleled in the history of the world.

The rivers of the mighty Indus system, fed from the perpetual snows of the Himalayas, flowed through the country in a way which man could scarcely wish to have been different. From the vale of Kashmir to the parched lowlands of Sind agricultural land could be watered from the Indus and its tributary streams, and when that was done the arid plants of the Punjab and Sind would be among the foremost grain and cotton producing regions. Canals were seen to be the only means of making this water available for agriculture. It was realised that they would pay at whatever cost they were built. So decade after decade saw new projects coming into existence. Mighty rivers were dammed and huge canals—each a river by itself—were drawn into the arid waste-lands. So great were the possibilities revealed by initial experiments that immense sums were thrown into new and ever more ambitious enterprises. The mileage of artificial aqueducts increased by leaps and bounds, till in 1936-1937 about 27,000 miles of main canals and distributaries were in operation in Sind, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. and irrigated the enormous area of approximately sixteen million acres.

Pakistan is and will remain a predominantly agricultural country. There is doubtlessly much need for industrial development, yet that will mainly take the form of manufacture of finished articles from land produce. The conditions under which the cultivation of land is carried out in Pakistan will render the manner and the method of it unique. The extreme climate with a natural scarcity of rainfall and the artificial means of remedying it will necessitate a special

organisation of the country's agriculture. The methods of profitable cultivation (such as local adaptation of varieties of plants, rotation of crops and a thousand other things concerned with tilling, sowing and reaping) will depend upon the seasonal alteration of great cold and great heat, the behaviour of the snow-fed rivers and the possibility of conveying river water by artificial channels, or lifting it by power-operated contrivances to the uplands. The administration will have to evolve a satisfactory method of land revenue assessment, and a suitable attitude to foreign trade relations calculated to encourage production at home and to bring within easy reach of the cultivator manufactured goods and implements from abroad. The politics of Pakistan will be the politics of an agricultural country ; and the Paks' attitude towards foreign political units will be influenced by the necessity of selling their produce in foreign markets, and buying their farming tools and other metalware.

Agriculture in Pakistan will depend upon canals, and the administration of the country will have to be canal-minded. A considerable portion of the country's energies will have to be devoted to irrigational improvement and research. As the Scandinavians have reached the peak of achievement in hydro-electric engineering, so the Paks will be expected to show the way in canal engineering. The various means of lifting water to high levels, preventing wastage through seepage, ensuring accurate distribution to consumers, etc., will have to be perfected at great expenditure of money and labour. The connected arts of bridge building, concrete construction, manufacture and maintenance of digging

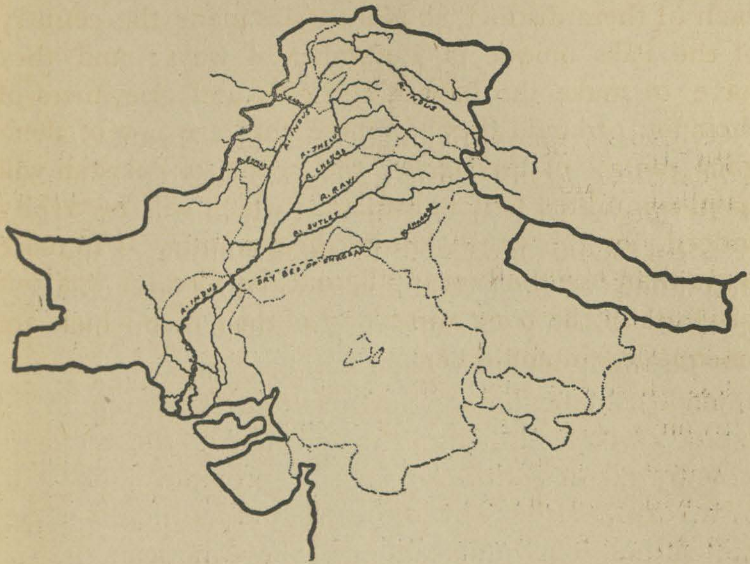
machinery and water lifting contrivances will have to be practised on a large scale by public and private enterprise. The urban population will be engaged in the manufacture of finished articles from raw argicultural produce. The organisation will be engaged in the manufacture of finished cane and the export of cloth, sugar and other foodstuffs will be the concern of the business-minded public. The very art of the country will wear a unique aspect. The rural poets will sing of the romance of bringing canal water into the lonely fields on moonlit nights, or the joy of bathing in the brown streams on clear summer mornings; and the background of their pastoralism will contain green canal banks lined with the dark-leaved *shishams* and the fragrant yellow-blossomed acacias. As the avenues of firs and poplars along the waterways of Holland have been commemorated by great painters born in their midst, so Pakistan's artificial streams of shimmering silver with sheep grazing on their emerald banks will get their Van Goyens and Ruysdaels to celebrate their peculiar beauty. The development of canal irrigation in Pakistan has been rapid and extensive, but there yet remain enormous tracts of waste-land in Baluchistan, Western Punjab and Sind, which the Paks will have to reclaim for agriculture. The rapid streams of Baluchistan will have to be dammed, and their water stored for use throughout the year; while the sandy loam of Sind and the Thal will present its own problems to the irrigation engineer and the agricultural research worker. With the country becoming an independent political unit, vast fields of industrial and agricultural advance will come into view. The necessity

for economic self-sufficiency will cause the development of trade and industry to run in particular channels. The vast pasturage available in the highlands and unirrigated waste areas is at present not being exploited systematically. Suitable breeds of sheep will have to be reared by careful experimentation, and varieties adapted to the climate and physical environment popularised. The wool industry is very meagre, although the little work that is done is unique in its kind in the whole world. In an independent and progressive Pakistan the grading and marketing of wool and the manufacture of woollen goods will take an important place in the people's occupations. The other fibre produced in the country—and one that is of much greater importance, *i.e.*, short staple cotton,—is at present almost all being exported raw to Japan and other manufacturing countries. In order to make their own cloth the Paks will have to discover methods to spin and weave their cotton in the dry climate of their country ; converting by hard and patient labour their disadvantages into advantages, and their forced idleness to busy prosperity.

Thus we see how far unique are the conditions under which the people of Pakistan follow their most important occupation. The irrigation aspect of agriculture with the almost unparalleled climatic environment lends a distinctness to the country which it is impossible to ignore. The essential effects of human existence prevailing in Pakistan demand that she should work out her destiny untrammelled with unnatural ties with the far-off countries of Hindustan whose people are different from her people in race and

every aspect of civilised life.

As other countries possess peculiarities which make each of them distinct, so Nature has made the country of the Paks unique in a number of ways ; and they have to make the best of the gifts and grievances of their lot. Should they let those that are not of them gain control of their lives, the people of Pakistan will have committed national suicide ; which will be a pity indeed, for the world knows their country is in more ways than one the best of all, and the Creator has put qualities in the bone and blood of their race which are unequalled in any other.

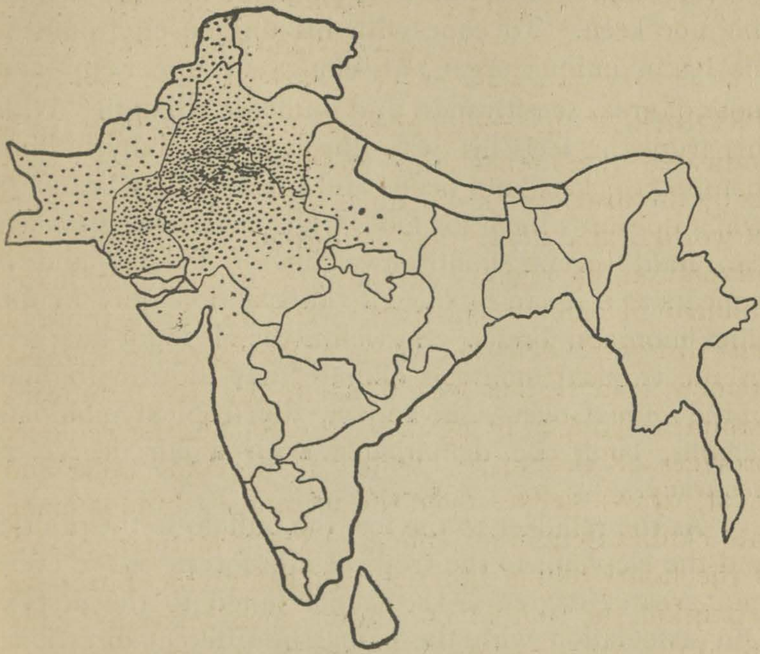


THE LAND OF THE INDUS

The geographical unity of Pakistan is symbolised by the Indus and its tributaries which flow all over the country making possible the development of the greatest irrigation canal system in the world.

CHAPTER IX

PROBABLY the individuality of the North-West is indicated by no other single fact in so striking a manner as by the distribution of camels over India. The study of world fauna shows that in the evolution of life the adaptation of higher animals to different climates resulted in highly specialised species occupying more or less distinctly defined regions. For instance, the extremely cold regions of the north are the reindeer's habitat. To men living in these countries the reindeer provides all necessities of life: it provides milk and meat, draws sledges over the ice and its hide is made into clothes, tents and canoes. The American prairie is the home of the buffalo, and before the European expansion the animal bore some such relation to the life of the American Red Indians as the reindeer does to the Eskimos or the Lapps. In a similar manner the Asiatic elephant is closely associated with the climate and human occupations of the tropical monsoon countries of South-eastern Asia, *viz.*, Burma, Siam, Indo-China and Malaya. Nature has given the elephant great bulk and a thick hide to enable him to make his own way through the dense rain-forests, where the multitudinous trunks of mighty trees support a canopy of leaves so thick that the light of the sun only dimly reaches the ground; while in the more open places the undergrowth is so dense and high that it is impossible to see more than a foot or two ahead. To



INDIA—THE DISTRIBUTION OF CAMELS

(Each dot represents one thousand camels)

The distribution of camels in India provides a spectacular instance of climatic control. The camels are found only in the semi-desert North-West and their presence marks off this region from the green and damp monsoon land.

a creature placed in such circumstances eyes would be of very limited use, and the elephant's eyes are neither big nor keen. To cope with his unique environment he has a unique organ, an elongated upper lip and nose of great sensitiveness and immense strength. With his trunk he feels his way through the labyrinthine bamboo thickets, and bends and breaks strong branches when he wants them for food. His cavernous stomach can hold several hundredweights of fodder, and it appears as if it can be filled to satisfaction only in the thick monsoon forests. So well is the elephant adapted to the tropical monsoon climate that the distribution of the animal over Asia known, the tropical monsoon regions, could be demarcated with a fair degree of accuracy.

As the reindeer to the ice, the buffalo to the prairie and the elephant to the tropical rain-forest, so or even in a greater degree is the camel suited to the desert. Our association with the camel in different directions of thought—geographical, historical and philosophic—are so multitudinous that the history of an epoch in the evolution of civilisation can be read in their light. The camel may be taken as the symbol of that great transformation in the historical process, which proceeding from South-western Asia as a spontaneous race-urge took in its sweep all the known world. Living several hundred years after, we see the brilliant colours of Arab greatness in distant and blurred magnificence; and throughout this pageant of centuries the caravans of conquest move on camels' backs against a background of simoom-blown sands. The days of Arab greatness are past, but the camel is still the

associate of man in a world distinct in its arid vastness and the essential uniformity of religion and culture of its inhabitants. The land of the camel is still the land of scimitars and tambourines, mosques and muezzins, and domes and minarets.

Biologically the camel is a highly specialised mammal intended by nature to live in waterless deserts. The five-branched extremities of the ancestors of mammals have assumed the form of thick cushioned feet, which let the weight be distributed evenly on uneven surfaces and do not sink deep in sand. Over sun-baked rocks and sand the camel is at home. He nibbles the thorny bushes by the wayside, and steps luxuriously on the soft, yielding sand. His heavy eyelids and flexible nostrils are meant to withstand the dust-laden winds which blow over the treeless expanses of the desert. The fatty hump is a reserve of energy while the water sacks in the stomach are meant to store water. Obviously the camel is equipped to maintain himself in a place where the necessities of life are by no means very plentifully scattered. In the moist and green monsoon-lands of Hindustan the camel is a stranger. Amidst the exuberant vegetation and frequent rain his equipment for long fasts is a burden, and he finds himself ill at ease. He slips over the pasty alluvial mud, and falls on hard ground. His bones, when broken, rarely set. Bones do not break very often by mishaps over the soft sand, and there is no provision for such casualties in the camel's system. The lush, watery vegetation of the monsoon regions does not suit his stomach and he longs for the dry, salty, astringent-juiced bushes of his homeland. So the camel remains in the desiccated wastes of the old

world, indicating by his presence the desert nature oi his environment.

In India where the diversity of climate is greater than in any similar area in the world, the camel is found only in the dry North-West marking it off in every natural aspect from the other Indian countries.

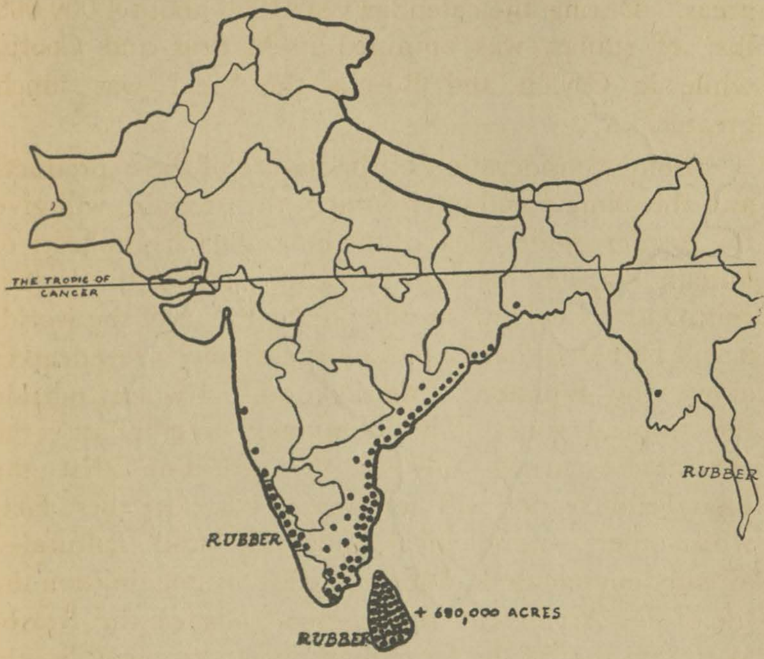
CHAPTER X

THE climatic individuality of a region is often symbolised by a characteristic product. For instance, the heat, humidity and the luxuriant verdancy and beauty of the tropical regions near the Equator is symbolised by the coconut-palm tree. Only under a brilliant sun and plentiful moisture this child of the tropics flourishes. Should the temperature become mild or moisture be scarce, the palm cannot live. Its straight trunk and huge lush green leaves with regular ribs radiating from a centre are indicative of the lavish scale on which nature works in these latitudes. It was doubtless the extraordinary living green of the foliage of the palm, and the immense size of the individual leaves with their suggestion of great profusion and rapidity of growth that made Shakespeare describe the magnificent reign of Julius Cæsar as "the palmy state of Rome." The strange exuberance and beauty of plant life in the tropics seems to be typified in the coconut-palm tree.

Rubber is another and even more characteristic product of the tropics. Its cultivation is largely limited to the steaming regions that lie on or very near the Equator. The rubber plant flourishes where heat is the greatest and rainfall the heaviest. In Ceylon, Southern Burma and some parts of Madras and Coorg, which receive several yards of rainfall every year,

rubber plantations cover large and ever-increasing areas. During the calendar year 1936 about 4,000,000 lbs. of rubber was obtained in Madras and Coorg, while in Ceylon and Burma the yield was much greater.

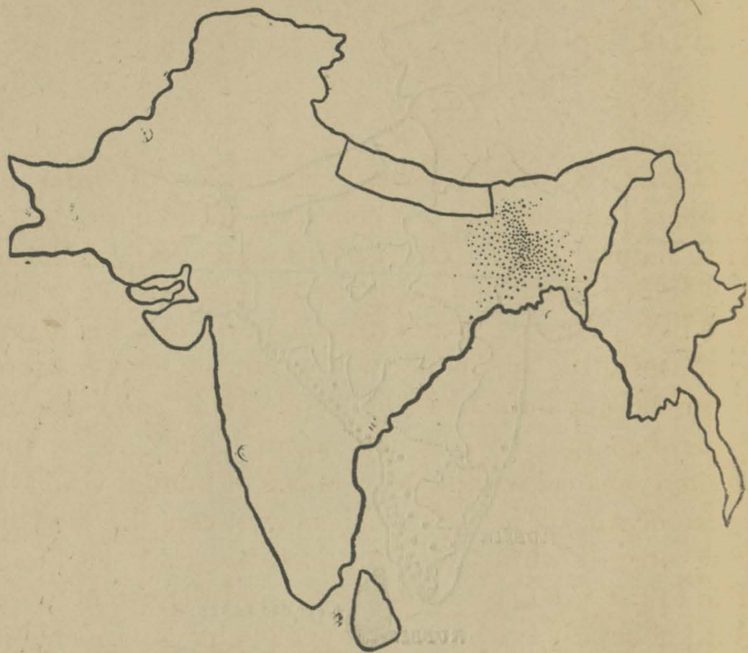
Some consideration of the nature of these products and the climate and environment they require will give the reader some idea of the enormous dissimilarity of human surroundings in different parts of the Indian continent. Looking at the physical map of the world, it will be noted that Cape Comorin is only a few degrees above the Equator, while Pakistan lies wholly outside the tropical zone. The temptation to emphasise the contrast is curbed only by the reflection that the thoughtful reader will for himself correlate these facts with others—ethnological, linguistic and cultural—already enumerated ; and recreating in imagination the life of the Aryans in the steppe-lands of the North-West and that of the Dravidians in the tropical South, will perceive the immensity of the difference between the two.



THE DISTRIBUTION OF COCONUT AND RUBBER IN BRITISH INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON

(Each dot represents 10,000 acres of coconut crop)

The peculiarities of human environment in the tropical South are reflected in the vegetation of the country. Plants which grow abundantly in the steaming regions in the tropics cannot grow in the dry regions of the North which lie outside the tropical zone.



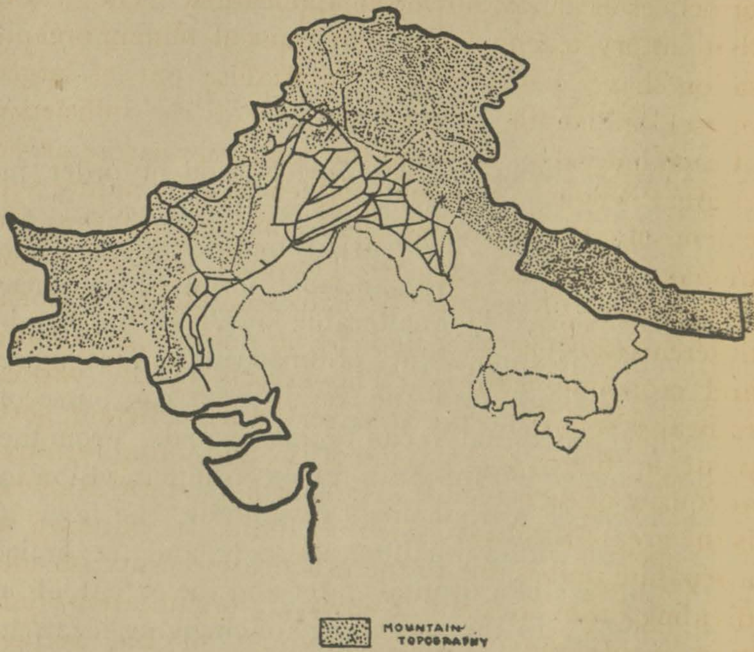
INDIA—THE DISTRIBUTION OF JUTE

(Each dot represents 10,000 acres of jute crop)

Eastern India possesses a unique climate and physical environment and is the home of a unique race. The individuality of the Bengal area is unmistakabl.e

CHAPTER XI

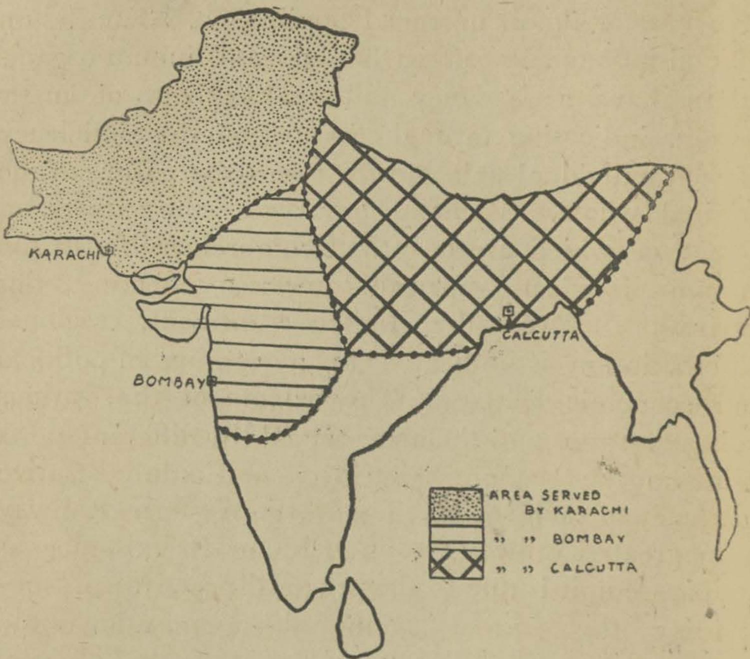
RATIONAL living involves a recognition of order in existence, and shaping our course of life in accordance with natural laws. The various manifestations of the Life Force occur in recognisable forms since their growth is governed by unalterable laws. In the inanimate world the applicability of unvarying laws is more distinctly obvious, and the result of a concourse of forms of energised matter can be anticipated. From the smallest change within the compass of human vision to a cataclysm of astronomical magnitude, the laws of being operate within unfailing accuracy, and set limits alike to the size of a drop of water and the extent of a spiral nebula. In the present age of changing ideals it is customary to affect a denial of the applicability of any definite laws to human institutions. The unpredictability of world movements, and the ever-new pattern of human sorrows, which man cannot foretell and cannot ward off, often form the theme of pessimistic comment and are made an excuse for the summary rejection of the politician's and the ethicist's generalisations. However, the management of the world proceeds on time-born principles, which, although crude and metallic in appearance, ultimately emerge correct and point to a deep underlying harmony in the scheme of Man's creation. In making generalisations on human affairs we cannot preclude a possibility of the emergence of unforeseen and spontaneous elements, but the



THE EXTENT OF THE NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY SYSTEM

The regional adequacy and administrative sufficiency of Pakistan is indicated by its area being co-extensive with such public service organisations as the North-Western Railway.

knowledge of the past enables us to formulate broad principles of almost universal application. The lesson that history teaches us is that units of human organisation have a tendency to crystallise out of larger masses, indicating through the process the sufficiency of each individual unit and the composite nature of the original whole. Manifold influences, the nature and extent of which are only half comprehensible to the human intellect, operate towards effecting this separation. Over the Indian continent, regional differentiation is indicated by a number of political and economic features. The extents of the various railway systems and the areas served by different ports point to the economic integrity and administrative adequacy of each region. The North-Western Railway is the greatest railway system in India. Its existence as a separate unit is due to the practical necessity of subdividing the Indian Railways' organisation into manageable units. The limitations of the average individual's range of vision and activity permit the co-ordination of such-like forms of public service within restricted areas. Civilised man prefers to stay in the country of his birth; and should the necessity of making a livelihood require him to go abroad, he hopes to come back to the land of his fathers in his old age. It would appear as if even the imagination in its terrestrial excursions is at home only within limited areas. We in Lahore usually look upon a trip to Ambala or Peshawar or Quetta as an ordinary affair, but a journey to Rangoon or Calicut feels like a venture into foreign parts, which in fact it is. The seasonal migration of cheap labour, though impelled by stern necessity,



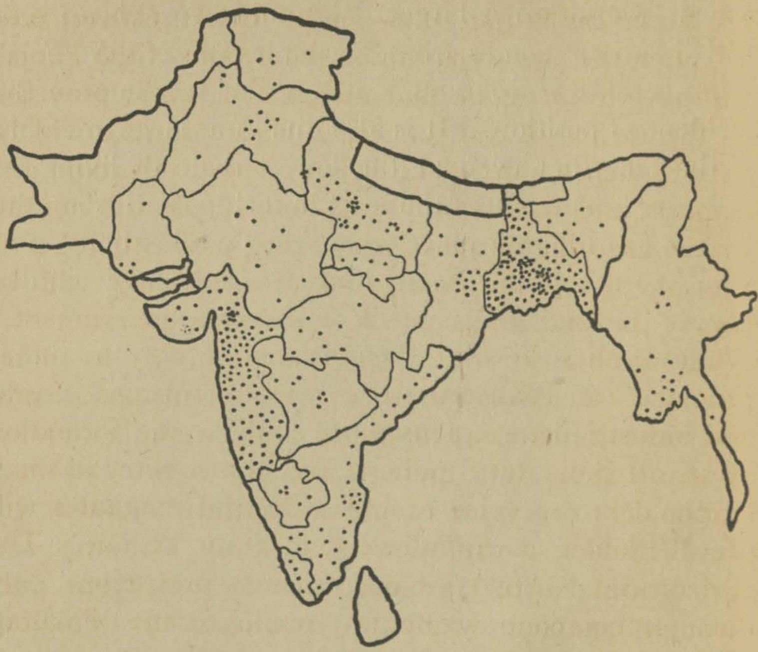
INDIA—APPROXIMATE AREAS SERVED BY THREE MAIN PORTS

North-Western India is an entire and independent geographical unit.

is limited by barriers of race and language. To Lahore, Amritsar and other larger Pakistani towns, cheap, unskilled labour comes from Kashmir, the N. W. F. P. and Northern Rajputana. It is not merely due to the accident of position. It is also due in a large measure to the fact that even at the lowest scale of living an individual experiences the least hardship, and gets the most out of life in a place where the people about him belong to the same race as himself, and have similar wants.

Modern means of transport have caused the globe to shrink. The isolation of far away islands and inland countries is broken. The world is drawn together by economic ties. But there is a limit to this. In the Indian continent the economic entirety of the area served by the North-Western Railway is unaffected. It may be possible to industrialise Bengal, Bihar and the adjoining country by the resources of Raniganj coal and iron mines, but Pakistanian provinces and states are very little influenced by them. Distance is yet a reality, and one country is still unlike another.

Administrative centralisation of so vast a region as India would result in the economic welfare of certain parts being prejudicially affected. The enormous dissimilarity between the economic organisations of different parts (each of which comprises an area of many hundreds of thousands of square miles, and possesses a marked individuality in matters of climate, physical environment, race and traditions of its inhabitants) is incompatible with a uniform economic policy. The federal structure envisaged by the India Act of 1935 would, if realised, permanently jeopardise the



PROVINCE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN INDIA

(Each dot represents 5,000 industrial workers)

Pakistan's industries are undeveloped and at present her interests are largely agricultural. To safeguard her economic welfare Pakistan must be politically independent of the industrialised Indian countries.

economic welfare of the agricultural North-West. In his *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab* Mr. H. Calvert says, "Under the new constitution the people of the Punjab will have to recognise that almost the whole provision of the means of distribution of their produce will lie outside their hands. The railways, post, telegraph and seaports and means of international trade will not fall within the orbit of the self-governing province . . . . As a result of this the great work of marketing will be largely beyond the control of the new government." What applies to the Punjab applies also to other provinces of Pakistan. The interests of agricultural and industrialised regions must clash in the formation of an all-India tariff policy ; and in a country of small landholders the voice of big industrial magnates will prevail under a capitalistic democratic regime. The agricultural North-West can become prosperous only through complete economic emancipation. Pakistan must be treated as an independent political unit responsible for its ports, communications and tariffs.

CHAPTER XII

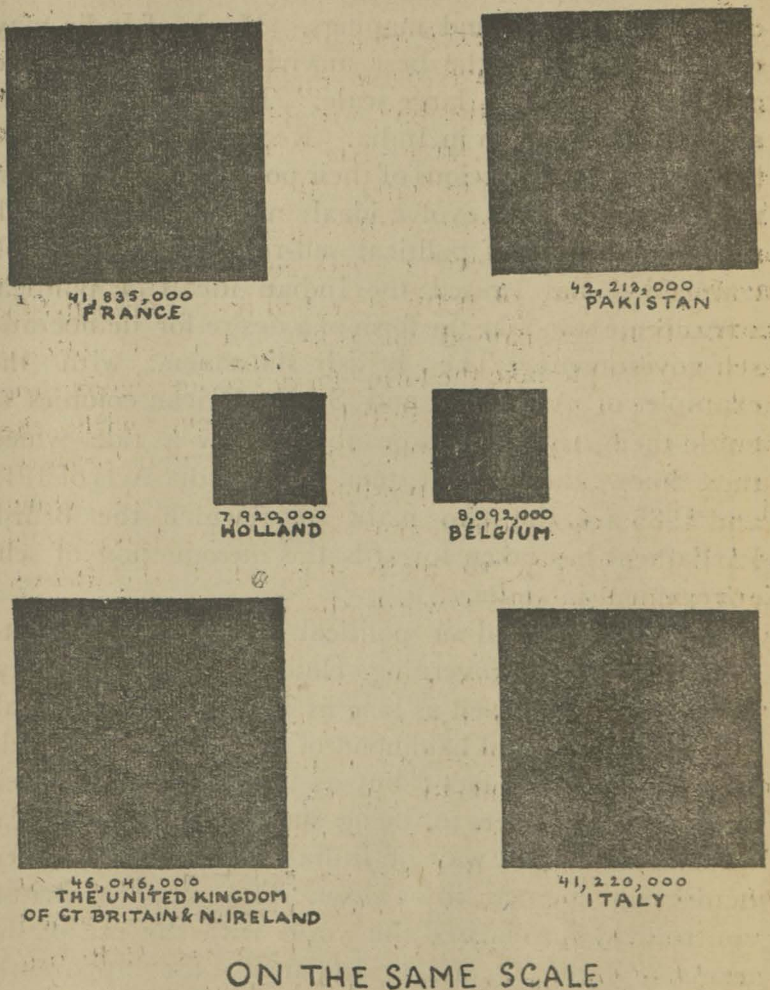
A HUNDRED years ago, the political situation in India was the same as in Europe of the Middle Ages. There was no movement even distantly analogous to nationalism in the political thought of the time. The old world internationalism (not understood as such for there were no nations) prevailed in all parts of the sub-continent. The idea that a human being belonging to a certain race or country can, as a human being, be inferior or superior to another individual of another race or country simply did not exist; nor did any one imagine that an individual born in a country had the right to live upon the natural resources of his homeland to the exclusion of a similar right of everybody not born there. Today, nothing is more familiar, or appears more reasonable than that the resources of a country should be used only by the people of that country; but in old India land was of God, and any of His people might live anywhere. The influence of Islam early brought the concept of universal equality into the caste-bound Indian society, and the belief of the Muslim ruling community in all mankind being descended from a common father Adam preserved the Indian peoples from drifting into national exclusion for almost seven centuries. Wave after wave of new-comers poured from the mountain passes of the North-West but they were never hated as foreigners and only opposed as destroyers and intruders. When the leader of an invading army was

a strong and able administrator, his rule was welcomed, and his followers freely admitted into the Indian society. The very word " foreigner " (*pardesi*) was considered as entitling the person to whom it was applied to special consideration and indulgence of the local inhabitants. Even today where the wisdom of the West has not reached this sentiment prevails. In an Indian village anybody in outlandish dress is shown much compassionate kindness as a victim of capricious fortune which has separated him from his home and hearth. When a foreigner who considers himself David Livingstone, Jesus Christ and Cecil Rhodes rolled into one arrives in a Punjab village, and is shown a great deal of kindly attention by stately men and women who have thousands of years of law and order in their blood and bone, he is not a little surprised. He remembers his own country where perhaps during his childhood he had cried " Frenchy", " Darkie " or some such slogans at passing foreigners, and had flung a patriotic stone or two at their retreating backs. He concludes that such a reception for a complete stranger must be due to fear, and proceeds to act accordingly. This is having its natural effect. People in the villages are less effusive in their welcome of strangers and look less pleased to see a man in a hat. It is to be earnestly hoped that the people of different Indian nations will never admit that deadly bane of the West—the heart-killing " anti-foreign feeling" which makes a Japanese dock policeman scrutinise foreign arrivals with an unforgettable troubled look of distrust, or brings a frown to the face of a European swimming pool gate-keeper at the arrival of an Asiatic. However, times are changing.

Contact with the West has resulted in the infusion of new ideas. The discriminating attitude of the Europeans has made the Indians look for a national label. The accumulation of population in large industrial towns has facilitated the spreading of half-truths about evolution and prehistory, and the medieval brotherhood of Adam's children is giving way before the modern ideas of racial superiority and inferiority. The large urban centres are foci of political activity, and the new influences radiate from them into the rural areas becoming more tenuous as the distance increases. Villages remote from towns still retain the old world values, and a stranger is welcomed and offered unlimited hospitality ; while stories of princes' bounty and heroic deeds are told by hoary old men in language besprinkled with the perfume of Persian verse quotations. The preservation of ancient administrative forms in " native states" under the rule of Indian princes has largely stemmed the Western cultural influences in those areas, but of late the pace of modernisation has been extremely rapid. The Post-War developments have altogether changed the aspect of Indian politics. Before the World War of 1914-18 Sir T. W. Holderness wrote : " Eminent authorities tell us that the distinctive feature of the modern world is the frank recognition of nationality and all that it involves. They also tell us that the two main features of modern history of the development of nationalities are the growth of individual freedom. Tried by these tests India is essentially not a part of the modern world. It is a great continent in which there are no nationalities. The population is an immense mixed multitude in different stages of material

and moral growth, exhibiting an extraordinary variety of peoples, creeds and manners. Much of India may still be regarded as the best surviving specimen of the ancient world on a large scale." Time, however, does not stand still ; even in India. Recently, Indians have become acutely conscious of their political backwardness and are striving to evolve ideals more consistent with modern notions of political self-respect. The British connection has caused the Indian ideals of political advancement to take the form of a desire for democratic self-government. The British statesmen, with the example of American and South African colonies to guide them, try as far as possible to slow a tide which they know they cannot stem. The India Acts of 1919 and 1935 are the two main steps which the British Parliament has taken towards the introduction of self-government in India.

The early Indian political reformers wanted to make India a self-governing, closely united democracy. This was all very well as long as it remained an ideal, and there was small likelihood of its being immediately realised in actual fact ; but as time passed and their efforts came closer to being successful, the practical difficulties in the way of India's becoming a unified democracy loomed into view. The unity of British control had familiarised the world with the use of the terms "India" and "Indians" for apparently integral entities, but under the stress of increasing national feeling among the different Indian peoples the great disunities became apparent. Today no single political body can claim to represent the whole sub-continent. The largest political organisation—the



COMPARISON OF POPULATION

Congress—is the very antithesis of the second largest—the Muslim League; and the heterogeneous elements in the Congress itself are only held together by the pressure of British control. Bengal, Mahratta, Pathan and Bania politicians make restive bed-fellows, while the politically backward races like the Dravidians are by no means quiescent under Congress tyranny.

The India Act of 1935 envisaged future India as a federation of democratically governed units comparable in size and population to European States, but the Aryo-Dravidian Hindu nationalists who were in the forefront of Indian politics wanted the federation to be as closely centralised as possible, so that the Aryo-Dravidian Hindu majority may be able to gain constitutional control over the less numerous peoples of other races living in the vast border countries of Hindustan. These short-sighted empire-loving victims of foreign imperialism completely overlooked the impracticability of their plan, which was in opposition to the natural desire of other peoples for national self-determination. The various commissions instituted by the British Government to report upon the 'Indian Problem' had expressed statesmanlike views. In their opinion the likelihood of India's becoming a closely united nation-state was small, and the application of the parliamentary system to the huge sub-continent appeared impracticable. The following extracts from R. W. Brock's abridgment of the Simon Report leave no room for misunderstanding.

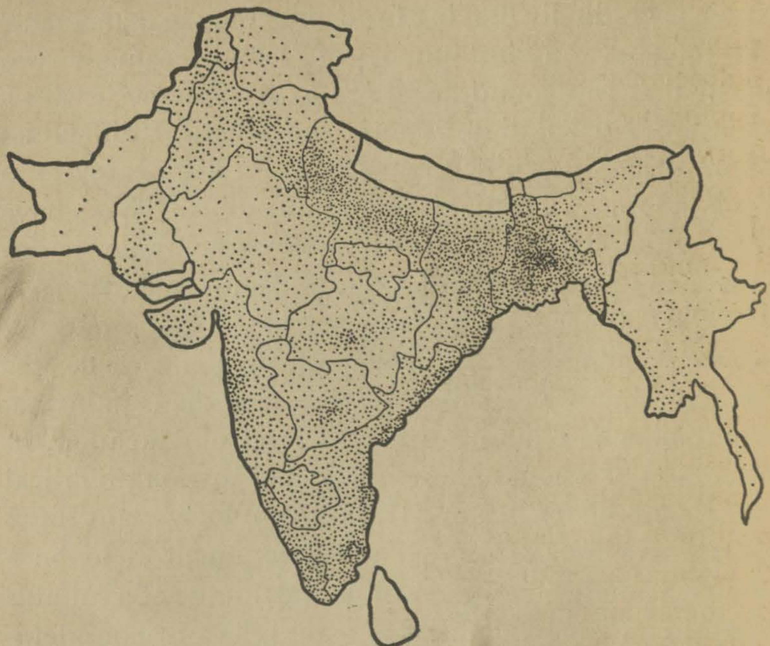
"A change from a unitary to a federal system, it may be admitted, is unusual. The explanation is to be found in the peculiar features of the Indian problem.



COMPARISON OF AREAS

India is gradually moving from autocracy to democracy. As soon as an instalment of self-government was granted it was found necessary to accompany it with a measure of devolution because the practical difficulties of applying the principles of Western democracy to so large a unit as India were insuperable. There have been autocratically governed states comparable in size and population to India but a democracy of nearly 250,000,000 people is unprecedented. The largest and more populous state democratically governed, the United States of America, has less than half that population and despite its high level of education, its possession of a common language and the long political experience of its people, it consists of forty-eight states united in a federation. If self-government is to be a reality, it must be applied to political units of a suitable size after taking into account all relevant considerations."

Self-government realised through democratic parliamentary machinery represents the peak of Man's achievement in the evolution of corporate life. It is easy to dissent from this view and indulge in political cynicism, but sophistry is a poor substitute for practical thought. Besides the material progress and emancipation of the individual achieved in the democratically governed countries of the West, the greater proof of the essential soundness of the democratic principle is its acceptance by the 350 million Indians of different races living in vastly different surroundings. All the same even a great and a good idea has its limitations—in fact it is the limitations in material dimensions that make possible the embodiment of an idea. While no



INDIA—THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

(Each dot represents 100,000 people)

The population of India is estimated at nearly 35,000,000, which is one-fifth of the human race. From the point of view of sheer practical constitutionalism, a Pan-Indian nation-state is an impossibility.

serious-minded Indian would oppose the democratic principle, it is extremely unlikely that the most earnest politicians could plan a democratic constitution applicable to India as a unit. Here is another extract from Mr. Brock's abridgment of the Simon Commission Report: "The application of the federal idea to India cannot follow any known pattern, for the circumstances are unique. The first difficulty arises from the heterogeneous character of the units to be federally associated . . . " Confronted with the necessity of giving suggestions for the constitution of an all-India representative assembly the Commission proposed the unusual method of indirect election in words which unmistakably make plain the practically impossible nature of their task. "Representative institutions were devised as a means of getting over the difficulty created by the expanding size of states, and it appears to be in strict accordance both with the theory of representation and with the requirements of common-sense to say that when the total area to be provided for is so huge that direct election would involve either impossibly large constituencies or an impossibly numerous assembly, the solution is to be found through 'election by the elected' which is all that indirect election means." It may be asked if the ideal of government of the people by the people is achieved by federating a whole continent. Instead of resorting to the artificial means of 'election by the elected' why not consider the continent as composed of smaller-sized units, particularly when geographical, historical, ethnological and linguistic considerations point to as great a diversity as is anywhere to be found on earth? "The federal units are too large

to secure reality of representation," says the Simon Report; and there is little room for doubt that had the Muslim League put forward their scheme of partition at that time, the Commission would have cordially welcomed it. In unequivocal terms they declared their inability to make any detailed recommendations about the formation of a federal legislative body : " . . . Thus an attempt to devise now a detailed and final constitution for the centre would be to ignore the fact that its ultimate form must depend on the action of the constituent parts. We can but provide the conditions for its future realisation."

The constitutional position in India is tersely summed up by Sir T. W. Holderness in his *Peoples and Problems of India.* He says, " The system of a number of subordinate governments and of a central government for supervision and control recognises the fact that India is a continent and not a single country. No other arrangement would be practicable." This was written over thirty years ago. Issues that were vague till then have since been clarified. Mild uncertainties have become hotly contested problems, and distinctions and differences which were still nebulous at that time are being keenly felt today. If one of the greatest students of Indian life and politics considered India to be "a continent, not a country, and a continent of infinite variety" over thirty years ago, how much more must it be so today when national consciousness has greatly increased among the different Indian peoples ?

The extracts quoted in this chapter have been taken from documents of unquestionable authority.

Nothing could be more clear than the language in which they are written. To pretend that they can mean something other than what they apparently say would be the very height of perversity. They show us how ignorantly shallow is the " patriotism " which calls India one country and the Indians one nation, and expose the essentially imperialistic and tyrannical nature of Wardha ideology.

CHAPTER XIII

THE Hindu-Muslim problem is the most important problem of the present-day Indian politics. All public life pivots on the Hindu-Muslim question. In assemblies, conferences, commissions and similar public bodies the Hindu-Muslim differences dominate the deliberations of statesmen wishing to arrive at definite decisions regarding public welfare. In the broadest generalisations concerning relations of the Indian governments with the Paramount Power the word 'Indian' can hardly be used without qualification, while in matters of immediately practical consequence the distinction between the interests of the Hindus and the Muslims forms the very basis of all official and non-official procedure. There is a duality in the life of the sub-continent for which a parallel can scarcely be found anywhere else in the modern world. In all the vast countries of India two different societies are in existence side by side—two distinct cultural organisations which have few points of contact and which do not show the least tendency to merge together. On the contrary, whatever symptoms of change there are point to an increasing divergence of ways. Muslims are everywhere realising in the modern sense that they have a different national being from the non-Muslims. They have begun to resist with ever-increasing determination the pressure of the renascent Aryo-Dravidian Hindu nationalism, which threatens to obliterate the

signs of their culture and destroy their heritage from a great past.

Students of the history of nationalism assure us that a common government is the most effective means of producing homogeneity and creating a common national feeling among a mixed population the various sections of which, though different from one another, yet possess certain features of uniformity—an element which can be emphasised and developed in the interest of national unity, while superficial distinctions are dropped for the same desirable end. This is achieved both by an effort at social adjustment by the people and administrative pressure exerted by the government. On the other hand, when the population contains widely different elements which owing to complete absence of blood intermixture and in the presence of great cultural differences are irreconcilable on a national basis, then a common administration instead of effecting a fusion brings about the opposite result of accentuating the antagonism between different interests. India belongs to the latter type of administrative units. After two hundred years of rule by an outside power, which is completely dissociated from Indian party interests, Hindus and Muslims stand further apart than they did when there was a Mughal emperor on the throne of Delhi. The antagonism between the two nations is not merely the outcome of the British policy of "divide and rule". In fact it can be argued with equal plausibility that the British economic and military pressure should have promoted unity among the Indian peoples; and it would certainly have been so if the Indians had been one nation, and India one country in the modern sense

of the word. But India is a great continent and Indians are of different races each one of which has a distinctive culture and history. It is not merely due to the profound political ignorance of the Indian masses that a Gurkha army of occupation in Pathan country serves the British interest as well as a British army, or a Jat force raised from Pakistan can be safely trusted to hold any position in South India for the Paramount Power. The principle of *divide et impera* is sound enough, but certain conditions must be present before it can be made effective. The British could not divide and rule the Boers in South Africa or their own colonists in America and Australia, but they can do so in India as the divisions are permanently there, and one party has neutralised the power of the other. Blaming the British for having created divisions is not only an act of ignorant injustice, but also shows a fatal capacity for self-deception in those Indians who do so. Looking back in the pages of history we find that at no time did the Muslims and Hindus become politically and economically one. Under the wise and large-hearted Mughals they came to a mutual understanding. The Hindu masses accepted the Muslims as a ruler and warrior nation, themselves becoming cultivators and traders, but at no time in history did the people of India fuse into a homogeneous society. The nearest they came to doing so was in Akbar's reign when Muslim potentates married Hindu ladies of noble houses ; but we do not hear of any Hindu noble being married to a Muslim lady, while the masses did not follow the lead of the court in this respect.

The Muslims ruled in India for almost a thousand

years. They developed their culture in an Islamic way, and preserved their racial identity by a complete avoidance of intermarriage with their non-Muslim neighbours. While the Hindus were divided into racially exclusive castes, the Muslims freely intermarried among themselves, and in the course of centuries attained to a degree of racial uniformity which was sufficient to signalise their individuality as a nation. At the same time complete absence of intermixture between Hindus and Muslims resulted in the development of divergent types with distinctive physiognomical characteristics.

The biggest factor conducing to the cultural uniformity of the Muslims is their practice of the most elaborate and practical religion the world has known. In a previous chapter the fundamental tenets of Islam have been given, but they constitute the barest essentials of Islamic belief; while Islamic living necessitates the observance of a detailed code of behaviour in all aspects of private and public life. So elaborate is the Islamic code that nothing of any importance can happen to the individual for which there are no definite and practicable injunctions for him or her about how to conduct themselves. The superhuman wisdom of its teachings has made Islam practicable for all human beings, and probably there is no single fact which illustrates the universality of Islam so well as its acceptance and practice by ninety million Indian Muslims living in the most diverse physical and climatic environment. The simple and steady living enjoined by their religion has conferred upon the Muslims of such far-flung countries as Baluchistan

and Bengal an essential uniformity of outlook, habits and manners, while it distinguishes them in a marked way from the non-Muslims about them.

Thus we see that affinities of race and culture and adherence to a common religion have given the Indian Muslims a marked national individuality. Being numerous and forming the majority of the population in the vast countries of North-Western and Eastern India, it would have been indeed strange if they had not sought to make a national home in these regions. Less numerous nations with less brilliant pasts have staked all in the cause of liberty. Seven million Portuguese or nine million Belgians could achieve national self-determination while living in close proximity to big nations who were bound to them by ties of blood and common political history. It is too much to expect that ninety million Muslims, whose ancestors took the Western Himalayas in a stride and conquered India from east to west within a decade, can be prevented from becoming masters in their own home.

The word "nation" in its modern sense can scarcely be applied to the Hindu section of the Indian population. "Hindus" is a vague summary label for almost all non-Muslim elements in India. The Muslims ruled the sub-continent for about seven hundred years, and preserved their racial and cultural identity amidst more numerous peoples of different races and cultures. They called the indigenous inhabitants who persisted in their religions and modes of life 'Hindus' and gradually the word came to mean an Indian who was not a Muslim—a use which it retains to the present day. The Indian non-Muslims are of different races, and

practise different religions and social codes. For instance, the racial and cultural gap between the Pakistani Hindus and the non-Muslim Dravidians of Madras is so great that it permits no comparison between the lives of the intellect and the spirit of the two peoples. The Mahrattas and Bengalees are equally different. Before the advent of modern means of travel and transport, there was little communication between the peoples of the far-flung Indian kingdoms. The arrival of the motor-car, the steam carriage and the aeroplane has done comparatively little to break the isolation of village India—the India that really matters. The non-Muslim peoples of the different ancient Indian countries continue in the practice of their ancient religions and customs which no political or economic changes can alter. The Census of India Report of 1931 says, "The census terms are Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, Zoroastrian, Jew, Muslim, Christian, Tribal and others. This is the most practical division available but is admittedly not satisfactory, since difficulty arises in the case of many of these terms, particularly so in that of the term Hindu which is not entirely exclusive of some of the other terms used. Many Hindus for instance claim that Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists are also Hindus inasmuch as their faiths had their origin in the Hindu religion. On the other hand this claim is stoutly repudiated by the great majority of Sikhs and it was, therefore, necessary to treat the terms Hindu and Sikh as mutually exclusive. In the case of Jains many but by no means all regard themselves as Hindu and orders were issued that any Jain who wished to record the fact that he was also Hindu could do so

. . . It was claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha that a few Buddhists adopted the same position as Jains who regard themselves as Hindus, but from Buddhists as well as Jains protests were received against the possibility of their being classified as Hindus. In order to get round the ambiguity it was also ordered that Buddhists might likewise describe themselves as Hindus."*

It is apparent from the above quotation that leaving aside the devotional aspect and considering only the bearings of the religious question on practical politics, Hinduism may be regarded as an all-embracing label for different Indian creeds. Also it enables us to understand why many of those who wish to define Hinduism limit themselves to indicating a few practices followed by the greatest number of Indian non-Muslims, *viz.*, worshipping the cow, cremation of the dead, etc., or how the necessity of defining a term inclusive of the multitudinous religions of the crowded monsoon-land led a Hindu authority to define Hinduism as "what the Hindus or a major portion of the Hindus do"† and a baffled outsider to call it "a tangled jungle of disorderly superstitions, ghosts and demons, demi-gods, and deified saints, household gods, tribal gods, universal gods, with the countless shrines and temples and the din of their discordant rites—deities who abhor a fly's death and those who delight still in human victims." †

Thus we see that any ceremonial or occult practices which are not Islamic may be included in

* Dr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., D.Sc., F.A.S.B , Census Commissioner for India in 1931.

†Quoted by Sir T. W. Holderness in his *Peoples and Problems of India.*

Hinduism. Except in opposition to the virile and assertive Muslims who jealously maintain their national individuality, the 240 million Hindus of diverse races, having diverse religions and cultures, have no basis for national co-operation. The complete isolation of the Muslims, founded upon traditions of being a ruler nation of a distinct race and culture, has outlined the nebulous crowdedness of the monsoon-land by relative contrast. Anywhere in India when a person is called a Hindu, the purpose solely is to indicate that he or she is not a Muslim. The Aryo-Dravidian imperialism, which has apparently assimilated peoples like the Mahrattas or taken into subjection nations like the Dravidians, is struggling to establish itself in power by destroying the only considerable force in its way—the once-dominant Muslims. The Wardha politicians are cementing the newly-found unity of non-Muslim India by directing the hatred of its heterogeneous millions against Islam and all things Islamic. However signs are not lacking of an awakening in the non-Muslim Indian nations. The Dravidians, who felt the pressure of Muslim conquest in the past less than most other Indian nations, fail to find compensation for their lost liberties in being given an opportunity to witness anti-Muslim practices. There is a movement among the intelligentsia in South India for the national self-determination of the Dravidian people which every honest citizen of the world must sympathise with.*

* " A resolution declaring that for cultural and economic development of Dravidians it was necessary that the Madras province, essentially the home of Dravidians, 'should be constituted as a separate administrative unit under the direct supervision of the Secretary of State for India' was passed at the 15th confederation of the South Indian Liberal Federation, which concluded its session yesterday."—*Associated Press of India*, August 26, 1940.

The theological and historical background of the Hindu-Muslim problem is vast, and its discussion on these bases fraught with embarrassing comparisons and contrast. What has been said and quoted in this connection is essential for a thorough clarification of the existing relations between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. The problem which immediately confronts the Indian peoples, and which should form the subject of earnest and unrelaxed consideration of all those who are anxious to save their country from drifting into civil war, is the rising antagonism between the two main sections of the Indian population. Some well-intentioned parties avoid commenting on the existing Hindu-Muslim differences for fear of aggravating them, but every day the conditions are becoming more disquieting. Recent happenings in the Congress-governed provinces have shown that things have gone past such simple remedies as the maintenance of a discreet silence. If we keep our heads buried in sand like the proverbial ostrich any longer, we may suddenly find ourselves in the midst of civil strife, which may be the undoing of all we have achieved so far in spite of our disabilities. The time has come when we should unflinchingly look this most difficult problem in the face.

Let the Indian readers of these pages refer to their own experience for an analysis of what we all know to be the most cankerous problem of local, provincial and inter-provincial politics. How are the Hindu-Muslim relations shaping themselves? We see two racially, culturally and traditionally distinct nations living side by side with few points of intimate contact

between them. Hindus and Muslims do not eat together. They have never intermarried and will not do so in the near future: in fact it seems inconceivable at present that such a thing should ever be possible. In the past the differences between Hindus and Muslims took the form of a division of privileges and peaceful exclusionism: today, after a century of political evolution on modern lines, the Muslim and the non-Muslim interests are brought into sharp antagonism in every walk of life. In the spheres of public service, commerce and industry the two communities are practising increasing discrimination against each other. Men in the highest places in the public services cannot remain uninfluenced by communal considerations, while there is an increasing desire on the part of the man in the street to deal in buying and selling only with people of his own community. This desire for an exceedingly uneconomic "economic self-sufficiency," entertained by two peoples living side by side in the same territory, is probably the most amazing manifestation of the essential incompatibility of their political interests. The Hindu press is the very antithesis of the Muslim press. The infectious cult of mutual hatred and discrimination, which is spreading fast among all classes and all professions, is the outcome of the instinctive desire of either nation for self-preservation in the presence of a different people with a different culture. So long as the two nations are kept artificially yoked together in the vast Indian sub-continent, the struggle for the preservation of their cultural identities will become severer, and unless the natural divisions are politically allowed for, the inexorable laws of change

will bring things to a head and precipitate the final struggle for mastery—a struggle before which the civil wars of France and Russia will look small, and which will be the cause of the renewal of the lease of India's slavery for another age.

That the Muslims should be the first to initiate the separatist movement is naturally owing to their being in a majority in North-Western India while they would be in a minority of one to four in India taken as a whole; but the dramatic suddenness with which Muslims have hardened in their determination to accept no other alternative, is wholly due to the taste they have had of Bania government under the dictatorship of the Apostle of Non-violence for a few months, during which the Congress remained in office in seven provinces of British India. The ruthless anti-Muslim campaign launched by the Bania ministries in the provinces, where the Hindus were in a majority, showed the Muslims that they could not expect to receive just treatment at the hands of the Hindus. Incidents like the now well-known Biswa Murder Case, where the infamous practices of the Congress government accidentally came under the searchlight of justice, have revealed to the world the nauseating unscrupulousness and cruelty of the Bania administration. A wave of horror and indignation passed over Pakistan when an account of the blood-curdling vengeance wreaked by the Congress government on the total Muslim population of a village in Berar for the death of a Hindu in a communal riot was published in the C. P. and Berar Provincial Muslim League Inquiry Committee Report. The strictures of the High Court on the Congress

administration, from the Hindu Premier and members of the legislature down to the perjured witnesses of the government, show the Bania mind to be capable of such unprincipled cruelty that one begins to doubt if the two thousand-year old slavery of Aryo-Dravidian India will ever be cast off. Referring to the adjournment motion in the Legislative Assembly on the Biswa Murder Case, the High Court judgment says : " In the course of the resumed debate a number of members thought fit to speak as though it was known with precision what crime had been committed and so far as one member was concerned, indication was given as to who had committed the murder. In the course of that debate the then Prime Minister himself did not hesitate to use the word 'murder' and to indicate that this was not a case of riot but a carefully planned murder ruthlessly carried out." The Chief Justice further remarked, " This is a distressing case. The epithet is justified when we see in this case where forty-three men are standing on their trial on a capital charge, witness after witness whose evidence is false, improved and tutored, going into the box. So far as seven of those witnesses are concerned, they are children or young people who have been coached to give false evidence. False evidence in such a case means that the witness or the coach is doing his best to get another human being hanged careless of whether he is innocent or not. Human conduct can hardly stoop to anything lower than endeavouring to kill one's enemies through the lips of perjured children." The judgment of the High Court was summed up in the following words : " The concoction is transparent and so is the reason. Ikramuddin (one of the accused)

was the leader of the Muslims and, therefore, the five most important witnesses in the case come forward and concoct a deliberately false story in order to swear away the leader's life . . . . All these fantastic stories would be comic if it were not for the tragedy of it. The conspiracy has resulted in six men being sentenced to death and twenty-four to transportation for life . . . . The case has been treated as some gruesome festival in which witness has vied with witness to see how many Muslims he could be instrumental in sending to the gallows. Truth, honour, respect for human life, regard for one's sworn word have all been thrown to the winds . . . . When attempts are made to temper with evidence and to deflect the normal course of justice by such one-sided and in some respects outrageous investigation as we had in this case, such results are perhaps inevitable . . . . We find a deep-laid concert on the part of those witnesses to bring in every Mohammadan they possibly can, just because he is a Mohammadan."

The above extracts from the judgment of the High Court were quoted in the famous open letter which the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq addressed to Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the subject of Biswa atrocities. I must now quote some other portions of the letter in original for no paraphrase can capture the inspiration of their utterance.

"I beg to be pardoned, Mahatmaji," wrote the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, "for inflicting upon you long extracts from this judgment. But I am sure you will realise how terribly important and significant the observations of the judges are. Responsible Hindus, Congressmen, non-Congressmen and even the man who

is the Premier of a province and in whose keeping democracy has entrusted justice and the lives of all alike—practically see red. They prejudge the issue and publicly pronounce a verdict holding the Muslims guilty of deliberate conspiracy and of ruthless murder. The farce of an investigation follows and then a trial in which 'a comic opera story' is told to a court of justice through the lips of perjured witnesses. From the witness-box 'lies fall thick and fast.' Hindu witnesses vie with each other 'in a gruesome festival' their only aim being 'to swear away the lives' of as many as they can just because they are Muslims . . . .

"Imagine the tragedy of it. Imagine also the trials and tribulations of these poor unfortunate Muslims, of their relatives and friends who had to find money and find legal assistance, in order to wrest their lives from the gallows and the Andamans. Had the means been lacking and the appeal to the High Court not preferred, six innocent Muslim lives would have perished at the gallows and twenty-four would have now been locked up for life. Just think of it.

"That is the way that men brought to power by the much-vaunted Congress behaved towards Muslim minorities in the name of democracy. That is the way that justice was meted out to the Muslim minority.

"And yet you talk of democracy and justice and accuse Britain for not having yielded to the Congress demand which would enable the Congress to give for ever such displays of democracy and such displays of justice!

"You may say that this is but an isolated case. Scores of examples can be cited to show how the same

mentality was at work and caused incalculable suffering and even loss of life, limb and property, to the Muslim minorities in several other provinces where the Congress was in power.

"In the second place, has a single Hindu anywhere in the whole of India expressed his abhorrence at the conduct of those who thus conspired to send innocent Muslims to the gallows? Has a single Hindu newspaper expressed sympathy with the Muslims whom justice has rescued from the jaws of death or condemned the Hindus who conspired to send these innocent men to the gallows? Does it not show that either the Hindus, generally speaking, are disappointed at the result of the Muslims' appeal to the High Court or that they see nothing wrong in the manner in which Hindu ministers and others sought to prejudice the issue and some of them even helped to concoct false evidence in order that innocent Muslims might be hanged?

"And, Mahatmaji, what have you yourself done about it? You could not have been ignorant of these facts.

"Was not your sense of truth, your sense of non-violence, your sense of justice, your sense of righteousness, outraged by the despicable conduct of some of these men belonging to the Congress and belonging to your community? You found the trivial affairs of the small district of Noakhali in the province of Bengal sufficiently important to elicit from you an article in *Harijan* with clear directions to the Hindus to use violence against their alleged opponents. In fact nothing at all was or is wrong with Noakhali except that just one Muslim had once delivered just one indis-

creet speech.

"But the tragedy of Chandur Biswa, the tragedy of the mean conspiracy by Hindus against the lives of innocent Muslims, has left you unmoved. Not a word has dropped from your lips and not a word has flowed from your pen to indicate that you condemn the conduct of the Hindus who vied with one another, 'in a gruesome festival' of lies, with the sole aim of swearing away Muslim lives. How are we to interpret your silence?

"Do not all these facts conclusively prove that Hindus and Muslims are two different peoples, that democracy in the sense of pure and simple majority rule cannot be accepted by Muslims and that justice cannot be expected from Hindus in power towards the Muslims?

"In the circumstances if the Muslims maintain that democracy in the sense of majority rule is absolutely unsuited to India, can you blame them?

"In the circumstances if the Muslims believe that possessing the mentality which they do and which has been revealed in connection with the occurrence at Chandur Biswa, Hindus, if they secure the power of domination, cannot and will not render even the most elementary justice to the Muslims—can you honestly maintain that this belief is unjustified?

"You and other Hindus have taken exception to His Majesty's Government declaring through His Excellency the Viceroy that 'it goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is largely denied

by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.' In the light of the circumstances narrated above can you honestly maintain that His Majesty's Government in giving this assurance to the minorities have done aught but the barest justice?

"Can you deny that the peace and welfare of the entire Muslim population of the village of Chandur Biswa in the Central Provinces were put in peril by the conduct of the Hindu government and those who acted according to the lead of the Hindu politician who was for the time being head of that government?

"Can Muslims, therefore, who constitute 'a large and powerful element in India's life' be expected to submit to the authority of governments at the head of which such persons may preside? Is it not absolutely right and proper and in accordance with the elementary principles of justice that His Majesty's Government have now declared that they would not 'coerce such elements into submission'?

"And, finally, did not democracy fail in the Central Provinces when in the democratic Legislature speaker after speaker belonging to the majority party sat in judgment over innocent Muslims and pronounced them guilty of conspiracy and murder even before there was any inquiry into facts or any judgment on facts by any judicial tribunal?"

Thus has a well-known Indian Muslim set forth the state of Hindu-Muslim relations in India. I have deliberately included the passages about Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards his own community and towards the

Muslims, for these passages expose one of the most elaborate misrepresentations in popular Indian politics. In the modern age of ceremonious insincerity such frank utterances are of rare occurrence, but when Honesty and Justice do speak through a forceful personality, they may not be resisted. Amidst thousands of timid mumblings and uneasy grumblings a stentorian voice backed by Righteousness clears away cobwebs of wordy hypocrisy woven by selfishness and cowardice, and the world beholds the realisation in objective fact of what millions of lesser men felt and lived but could not utter. Progress in human affairs is the outcome of the concerted effort of millions of human beings, but each step is signalised by the emergence of leaders who behold men and circumstances by the light of genius. When the forces of falsehood operate through little men who say one thing and mean another, or when crafty selfishness is camouflaged with metaphysics and seeming-piety to look like the incarnation of saintly altruism, a bigger than usual hand strips off the false exterior and lays bare the selfishness, cunning, ambition, prejudice and hate pulsating in their native littleness.

The Biswa Murder Case is not the only incident of its kind. An Inquiry Committee instituted by the C. P. and Berar Provincial Muslim League gave a long list * of atrocities such as wholesale prosecution of Muslim pressmen till all Muslim papers stopped

* The full text of the Report comprising about 100 pages can be had from Khan Abdur Rahman Khan, M.L.A., Publicity Secretary, the Provincial Muslim League, C. P. and Berar Khamgaon, Berar, India.

publication, and the only means which the Muslims possessed for the ventilation of their grievances was lost; determined suppression of Urdu in educational institutions, discrimination against Muslims in public services, release of several Hindu murderers of Muslims, raids by Hindus on Muslims' houses resulting in injury to Muslim life and property, desecration of mosques, shrines and *tazias* by Hindus, forcible worship of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's photographs in public schools, deprivation of Muslims of Lonar of their right to take water from the only natural source of sweet water in the village, death of a Muslim of wounds in police custody under mysterious and suspicious circumstances at Katangi, etc.—the list is a long one. It appears that everywhere Hindus harass, attack and kill Muslims with impunity. The Sharif Report (Vols. I and II) of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League has a similar tale of woe to tell. The Hindus' attitude towards the Muslims is one of extreme intolerance and discrimination, and everywhere efforts are made to deprive them of their part in the social and political life of the country. It seems to have been taken for granted that Muslims should not participate in public enterprises of cultural, economic or even charitable and philanthropic nature. Such news headlines as "Swimming Pools for Hindus" are of daily occurrence. When one learns that a philanthropic body in Bombay has decided to build some of the most elaborate swimming pools in the East for the benefit of Hindus, irrespective of "caste or station in life", one wonders whether this unpatriotic intolerance of non-Hindus is due to increased national consciousness among the Hindus or is a heritage from

the slavery of two thousand years. The Hindu Brahman who was polluted if the shadow of a Hindu Shudra fell on his person, so far overcomes his scruples as to enter the same bath as the Shudra, but a Muslim who thinks all men to be equal and whose ancestors probably ruled over the Brahman's and the Shudra's ancestors for hundreds of years in the past is to be kept out. Can these Hindus who built the same swimming pool for Brahmans and Shudras but cannot find it in their hearts to let the Muslims bathe in it—can these men have the slightest justification for saying that the Indians are one nation with common interests and aspirations? When the sober and solemn Hindu trustees of a large philanthropic fund show such amazing narrow-mindedness, should we be surprised if the Muslims, who are so maliciously discriminated against, askfor the recognition of their separate identity—a fact of which they are every hour being reminded in ways which are almost childish in their irresponsible show of hatred and mistrust? Can the Muslims ever entrust their most cherished rights to the safe keeping of a community whose responsible individuals give evidence of such political short-sightedness, and show themselves capable of such insane disregard of public decency?

The ideology of hatred and passive insult fostered by the Wardha hypocrites has caused terrible communal dissensions among peoples having cultural and racial uniformity. For instance, the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh people of Pakistan, who are one of the finest races in the world, are divided among themselves by the machinations of Bania politicians. In the great

urban centres of the North-West communal divisions are becoming more marked every day, although in the vast rural areas which contain 90 per cent of the country's population people of all communities live in the closest harmony. The people of the Punjab have given final proof of their capacity for exercising democratic freedom by evolving a common government despite the grumblings of all parties. It is a matter of profound thankfulness and augurs well for our future happiness and strength that we have been able to start our working of the new constitution with a non-communal government. Today in any Pakistani Assembly there is not one communal party. May the Lord Almighty give the Paks strength to tolerate and forgive each other always !

The Indian National Congress is the largest political organisation in India. It is a predominantly Hindu body and, with the exception of a few Muslim "show boys", Hindu politicians fill all places and control its working. Mr. M. K. Gandhi is the supreme authority in all affairs of the Congress, although it is sometimes found expedient to repeat that he is not even a four-anna member. Besides being the cleverest politician, Mr. Gandhi has also the distinction of being the most orthodox and uncompromising Hindu of his time. All his life he has worked for the Hindu cause which he has identified with the cause of India's freedom. For Mr. Gandhi Hindu religion (whatever that may mean), Hindu social laws and Hindu culture are the religion, social laws and culture of all Indians. To obtain historical support for his ideal, Mr. Gandhi looks back to the India of no less than ten centuries

ago. Moved by the desire to regenerate Hinduism, he has worked unregardful of the fact that the type of nationalism he advocates is directly opposed to the interests and aspirations of 90 million Indian Muslims. In fact he does not seem to have suspected their existence till they made themselves felt by withdrawing from the Congress, and organising themselves in the second largest political body in India, the All-India Muslim League. Then he tried to conciliate them by giving out cryptical statements festooned with metaphysical phraseology, and making vague promises the responsibility for the fulfilment of which fell on no particular individuals or organisations ; for Mr. Gandhi was not even a four-anna member of the Congress, and his own part of the obligation he settled by invoking spiritual and semi-spiritual powers to vouch for his humbleness, his weakness, his clouded vision, his overwhelming sense of frailty, his determination to do penance, etc. Such exercises as fasts, silence, spinning yarn, drinking goat's milk and eating Nagpur oranges form an imposing ritualistic background for Mr. Gandhi's transcendental utterances, which usually possess the incomparable virtue of being interpretable in more ways than one, while they give confidence by their pious tone. No Hindu has so well understood the superstitious, spiritual-stunt-loving character of his people as Mr. Gandhi, and realising the fascination which the supernatural and the occult exercise on the minds of the non-Muslim millions of India, he has cleverly combined reforming zeal with Sadhuism. His elaborate asceticism (which has been advertised and paraded in three continents, *viz.*, Asia, Africa and

Europe) has aroused so much enthusiasm and won so much admiration that his images are publicly worshipped by the Aryo-Dravidian Hindus.

In his earliest political efforts Mr. Gandhi instinctively sought associates among men of his own community, and as the various movements initiated by him gathered strength, he became the centre of the loyalties of Hindu nationalists who found their inspiration in the pre-Islamic India of A.D. 800 and earlier times. How far the revival of that culture can be effected, and how far in the course of ten centuries have Islamic elements inseparably become a part of Indian life, are disputable questions ; but the immediate consequences of Mr. Gandhi's efforts at political and social reform have been an increasing neglect of Mughal and other Islamic cultural traditions, and the adoption of cultural factors of a different sort the exact modes of whose introduction will yet take some time to be definitely known. Those innovations, which the Congress stands pledged to enforce through political control, strike at the very root and being of Islam in India. The noble achievements in the arts of war and peace arrived at by the people of India under Muslim rule are being indiscriminately set aside for hybrid substitutes concocted by those who keep trying to guess what the India of ten centuries ago may have looked like. The Saracenic arch is one of the great elemental concepts that have made possible the realisation of architectural beauty ; and the bulbous dome as perfected by the Mughals is among the most perfect modes of structural permanence conceived by man. The Bania nationalists are for sweeping away these things and bringing in their

place the horizontal lintels and the fantastic crowdedness of the ancient Indian buildings. The ideas of unity, harmony, proportion, balance and restraint are to be disregarded for the Muslim Mughals were the first to introduce them in Indian architecture.

Another instance of cutting the nose to spite the face is to be noticed in the Aryo-Dravidian Hindus' abandonment of the use of Urdu, which they think to be the language of the Muslims, and as such un-Hindu and un-Indian. In fact Urdu is the only language which, while preserving contact with the hundreds of Indian dialects, is refined and comprehensive enough to serve as the instrument of cultural expression for a modern people. Its place, by reason of the variety and richness of its sources and the existence of a great literature in it, is unique among Indo-European languages. Three hundred million Indians—Paks, Banias, Mahrattas, Bengalees, Dravidians and others—have contributed towards the development of Urdu, and after five centuries of concerted effort have made it the most comprehensive, polished and graceful language of the East. Words from English, Dutch, French, Turki, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Tamil, Telugu, Kenarese, Burmese and Chinese have been incorporated in a Bhasha matrix to evolve a speech which is understood from Cairo to Singapore. But the Wardha crusaders wish to destroy this link which connects the Indian nations. They dig up dead and forgotten Pali and Prakrit words and string them up in weird array. This concoction they call Hindustani, and hope to replace with it a language understood by hundreds of millions

—a language whose greatest ancient poetry is pure and precious as elemental diamond, and whose modern literature is multitudinous and mighty as an international pageant. The anti-Urdu campaign of the Congress is an instance of how a mistaken nationalism may abandon its most valuable possessions of its own accord. When the leaders of a nation are so far swayed by prejudice as to become blind to their own welfare, others can expect but little justice from them.

The advocates of Congress policy often complain that the Muslims remain too much aloof from the Congress. They suggest that the Muslims should show more tolerance of the Congress brand of Indian nationalism, and make greater sacrifices in the interests of Indian unity. After the treatment they received at the hands of Hindus during the few months that the Congress was in power, one can scarcely be surprised if the Muslims oppose the Congress and refuse to believe in its promises. If they assent to the Congress plan to make India a democratically governed centralised nation-state, the Muslims would not only imperil their interests in the provinces where they are in a minority, but would put themselves at the mercy of the Hindu majority even in the vast regions of the North-West and the East where they form the bulk of the population. No honest statesman will advise a nation of ninety million people to sacrifice their identity when they possess numerical and effectual superiority in an area greater than the combined areas of England, France, Spain and Italy. It passes comprehension how the Bania

politicians can hope that the Indian Muslims will surrender a national home ten times as big as England into their hands, and agree to become serfs and untouchables in a country where they ruled with the sword for seven hundred years.

It cannot be that the Muslims should acquiesce in the formation of a Pan-Indian state. They have too much at stake. Let their independence in their own parts of the sub-continent be assured and they will find it possible to make sacrifices without running the risk of having their identity annihilated. But till Muslim India is not the sole mistress of her defence, communications, tariffs, and foreign policy, they dare not budge in their opposition of the Congress programme.

CHAPTER XIV

THE political ideology which is generally styled by its adherents as the Indian Nationalist view-point ought in truth to be called the Aryo-Dravidian Hindu Imperialist Doctrine. The Banias derive their importance in Indian politics from their great numerical strength and their occupation of the most fertile Indian plain, *viz.*, the Ganges valley. There are over one hundred million Banias in India and their homeland, Hindustan, is one of the most-densely populated regions on earth. The central position of Hindustan and its great natural wealth have always made it of primary importance in the military empires that have flourished in India in the past. The concerted effort of about a hundred million people living in a high state of civilisation resulted in the past (as it does today) in the production of enormous wealth, which accumulated in the urban centres and lured on the ambitious military leaders from across the Western Himalayas. After the mountain barriers of the North-West were crossed, the greatest natural obstacle in the way of the invaders were the drought-stricken plains of Pakistan, which at that time contained a sparse population of war-like quasi-nomadic Aryan tribes. But so powerful was the lure of the wealth of Hindustan that the invaders traversed the snows of the Hindu Kush and the inhospitable Punjab plains, and met the Hindustani armies on the fields of Panipat which lies

on the extreme westerly fringe of Hindustan.

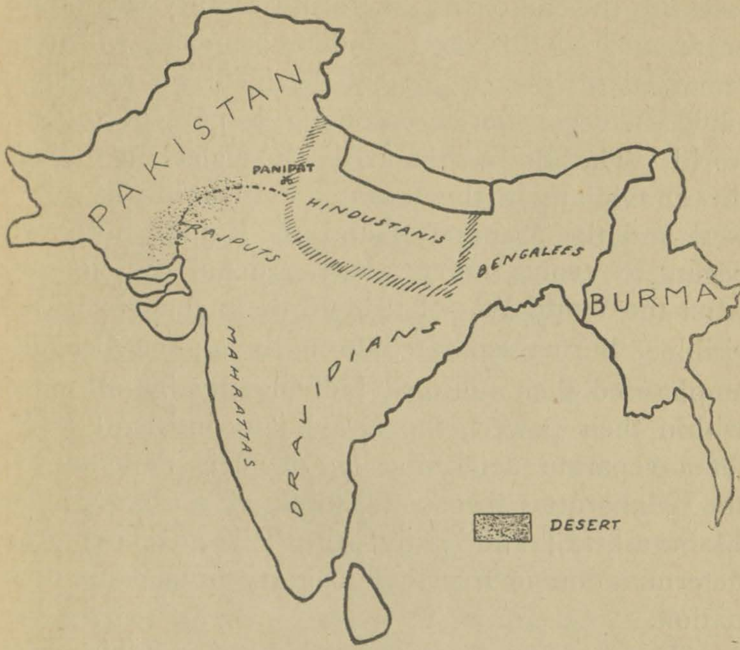
Invading foreigners sometimes destroy small and inferior civilisations. The civilisation of Hindustan was neither small nor inferior to any other civilisation then existent. Whatever invaders came from the North-West, the teeming millions of the Ganges valley assimilated them. Every wave of new-comers brought their quota of new ideas, and the people of Hindustan took the best from them building a resplendent cultural edifice that dazzled visitors from Europe and China. Hindustani art and learning progressed despite the political upheavals. Under the benevolent Mughals Hindustani architecture and poetry reached their peaks of achievement.

Under the heading " United Provinces " Prof. Lyde writes, " This was the 'middle country' of Indo-Aryo epics—Mahabharata and Ramayana. Rama's home being at Ajodhya (or Oudh, *i.e.*, practically Fyzabad) and the home of Brahmanism being at Benares. Buddha and his creed were born here and it was the appropriate centre of the Buddhist empire of Asoka, traces of his Patliputra still surviving in the subsoil of Patna. It was the Hindustan of Muslim historians and Agra and Allahabad, Jaunpur and Lucknow were Muslim capitals. It has always been the heart of India, typically Indian and securely Indian. Central India was almost as safe a bulwark as the Himalayas, both the north-western highlands and the south-eastern ocean were remote, and the lands of approach from both were difficult and unattractive. The security helped to make it, in a Land of Sanctuaries, the richest in shrines, the

nodality helped to make it the home of Urdu, the nearest approach—amongst the Indian languages—to a *lingua franca* ; and it has much fundamental unity —in structure and relief, in climate and its vegetational controls, in the density and occupations of its people."

The Hindustanis have made good use of their natural advantages. Although they were unable to withstand the invaders (who were not infrequently accompanied by the Paks) from the North-West, the Hindustanis by reasons of their general advancement, large numbers and favourable geographical position, were able to overshadow other Indian nations. Bengal was directly exposed to their influences and could not resist the inflow of Hindustani interests, when these were mobilised by Mughal and other external enterprise. South India was, however, too remote for Hindustani political and cultural supremacy to be made effective, and great kingdoms flourished there which did not owe allegiance to imperial Hindustan.

The traditional importance of Hindustan in an Indian empire continued in the British period. The same factors which had caused the Mughal imperial nodality to gravitate around the Ganges, operated towards making Hindustan supreme in Pan-Indian affairs in the British period as well. The large Aryo-Dravidian population which Aryan high-caste leadership, great natural resources and easy communications combined to give Hindustan such economic and political importance as to cause the Hindustani interests to be identified with Indian interests, and to make the use of the word 'Hindustan' synonymous



Map showing (1) the approximate limits of Hindustan (note its central position which has been the cause of Hindustan being identified with India), (2) the geographical isolation of Pakistan, and (3) the "natural" position of the Panipat battlefield.

with the use of the word ' India '. This remained the case till the end of the nineteenth century when things began to look different. Indian countries which had remained till then a part of the medieval world took rapid strides towards becoming a part of the new world. The Burmese and the Bengalees in the east, the Dravidians in the south, the Paks in the north-west and the Maharattas and the Rajputs in the west began to evolve independent national consciousness. After the World War of 1914-18 these changes became visible. Burma separated from India ; the Bengalees emphasised their national individuality by all means within their power ; the Dravidians insistently asked for a separate determination of their national self ; the Maharattas began to think of an independent Maharashtra ; and lastly, the Paks declared their determination to free their country from Bania domination.

It was not to be expected that the Banias would willingly relinquish their position of supremacy in Indian affairs. They wanted to covert their important position as the inhabitants of a rich and populous imperial possession into that of a dominant nation in an independent India. The separation of Burma was an obvious necessity and was passionately desired by the Burmese as the only means by which their prosperity could be assured. The scheme was opposed by the Banias. They wanted to keep the fifteen million Burmese in perpetual subjection and rule their country from Wardha. The attitude of the Banias towards Pakistan is identical. They think they can keep the vast provinces of the Islamic North-West

perpetually under control. The partition scheme of the Muslim League has aroused hysterical opposition in Congress circles. The prospect of being forced to relinquish their plans of imperial expansion in the temperate zone seems to have maddened the Hindustanis. The huge Congress Press is belching forth a cataract of incoherent and irrelevant opposition of partition scheme. Anger and disappointment are the keynotes of the hundreds of speeches, statements, articles, manifestoes, and communiques that pour thick and fast from the lips and pens of Congressmen. There is little method or logicality in all this denunciation as the scheme is ethnically, culturally, economically and politically sound. In fact after the first outburst the most responsible politicians seem to be resigned to an eventuality which they know they cannot resist, although a few of the most ambitious imperialists in the Congress determinedly shut their eyes to reality and still believe that the demand for partition is merely a threat!

Although the theorists recognise the necessity of national independence for the maintenance of world peace, man's lust for power and dominance again and again shows itself in its primeval forms, and various types of imperialism are rampant in the world today. The Wardha brand of imperialism is of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous nature. Compounded of cunning, hypocrisy, and metaphysical hocus-pocus, it has a monstrous texture. Its exponents profess altruism and tolerance, but bigotry and selfishness is the very substance of their being. After centuries of application the Europeans have made the practice of hypocrisy a

fine art, but even with them hypocrisy has after all remained a pose. The hypocrisy of Wardha politicians has weird and terrifying aspects. It blasphemes the heavens with its assumption of an air of spirituality ; it dumbfounds those against whom it is practised by appearing as an incarnation of protest against falsehood and insincerity, it defies analysis by entering the very being of its perpetrators : it sees to be a pose and assumes objective existence. The civilised world had so far agreed to keep spirituality out of the sordid bickerings of everyday life, and had left an ultimate basis for human alliance in the realms of the soul. The Wardha imperialists mix their political hypocrisy with metaphysics of the tropical sprite. The world hears elaborate accounts of the Wardha *sadhus* and saints undertaking fasts, maintaining long spells of silence, travelling third class on political missions and sees them sitting half-naked at spinning-wheels in front-page news-pictures looking incarnations of godliness : but when the same Great Souls wink at such horrors as the Biswa murder conspiracy or order the imprisonment of hundreds of Dravidians for wanting to use their mother-tongue, the onlookers experience the tragic emotions of pity and terror. The Muslim League inquiries into the methods of Congress government have shown how much the minorities have to fear the rule of these self-denying, *charkha*-spinning, sympathetic-looking " great souls ". The reader remembers the sympathy of the Walrus and the Carpenter for the Oysters in *Alice Through the*

Looking-glass :

> " I weep for you," the Walrus said :
> " I deeply sympathise "
> With sobs and tears he sorted out
> Those of the largest size,
> Holding his pocket-handkerchief
> Before his streaming eyes.
> " O Oysters," said the Carpenter,
> " You've had a pleasant run !
> Shall we be trotting home again ? "
> But answer came there none—
> And this was scarcely odd because
> They'd eaten every one.

The sympathy of the Great Souls at Wardha for the minorities is precisely of this kind. By the time the Congress fulfils its promises to the minorities, the minorities will have ceased to exist. Their leaders will have been put in jails or hounded out of the country ; their children taught to worship Mr. Gandhi and wear *dhotis* and *khaddar* caps ; their press gagged and their language and culture suppressed. Those among them who will persist in their traditional mode of life in spite of the social and legal disabilities put upon them will be made untouchables and reduced to the level of the serfs and slaves.

For the Pakistani mind the Congress cult is associated with hypocritical whining about non-violence, scraggy chocolate-coloured longevity-seekers sitting in loin-cloths and weaving metaphysical hocus-pocus with subtle schemes of economic pressure, five-foot-four-inch processionists with flat noses and bulging cheeks shouting outlandish slogans in shrill voices—all this smelling strongly of usury, untouchability and an inordinate

hatred and fear of the Muslims. As has already been stated, the Congress is an oligarchic organisation of Aryo-Dravidian Hindus who dream of establishing imperial control over the vast regions of the Mongoloid east, the Dravidian south and the Aryan north-west with its Indo-Persian culture. The Bania imperialists count upon the comparative lack of political enterprise in these countries, and seek to found the prosperity of their race on a control over their inhabitants. With a curious perversity the Congress who profess their aim to be the liberation of the oppressed and the establishment of freedom and equality among the Indian peoples see in the success of their initial efforts an opportunity to gain control of a number of other nations and exploit them for the benefit of the Hindustani race. The Congress oligarchs hope to rule Pakistan, Bengal, Maharashtra, Rajputana and South India from Wardha. They dream of the Bania Centre sending out governors and administrators to exploit the agricultural millions of the North-West and the East for the benefit of Hindustan which they hope to industrialise. Alongside these empire-builders there are crusaders in the Congress who hope to impose the culture of the Hindu monsoon-land upon the Islamic North-West. They would like to use their political control to transform the Aryan eaters of wheaten bread and meat into *dhoti*-clad vegetarians, and change the intensely democratic worshippers of the One God to a caste-ridden society worshipping a million stones, insects, animals, human beings and divine beings. They would replace the bulbous domes, Saracenic arcades, storeyed minarets, marble trellises and coloured

mosaic of the Mughal buildings with shapeless masses of stone everywhere displaying a riotous abundance of pillars and human figures with many arms or many legs or having elephants' trunks for noses. In place of the universal Urdu resonant with Persian and Arabic gutterals and made rich from a score of different sources, they would teach the dead Pali and Prakrit in educational institutions. They would deaden the martial spirit of the Indo-Afghans by preaching to them the hypocritical creed of non-violence, and afterwards merge them in the inert mass of the conservative Aryo-Dravidian society. But the Bania imperialists are doomed to be disappointed. To their plans of expansion in the North-West is opposed the national will of the people of Pakistan. In the past North-Western India was not a rich or a populous region but it supplied the Mughals then, as it does the British today, with their finest army recruits. Today, the Paks are much more numerous than they were in the past, and their country is far richer. It is inconceivable that they should be coerced into submission by any other Indian power. In the times to come Pakistan will advance irresistibly on her way to freedom and independence.

A small section among Indian politicians sincerely believe in the necessity of the Indian peoples remaining united. They cherish the vision of a united India coming to the forefront in world politics because of her immense population and almost inexhaustible natural resources. They support the Congress policy not because they are in sympathy with the imperialistic aims of the Bania majority which dominates it,

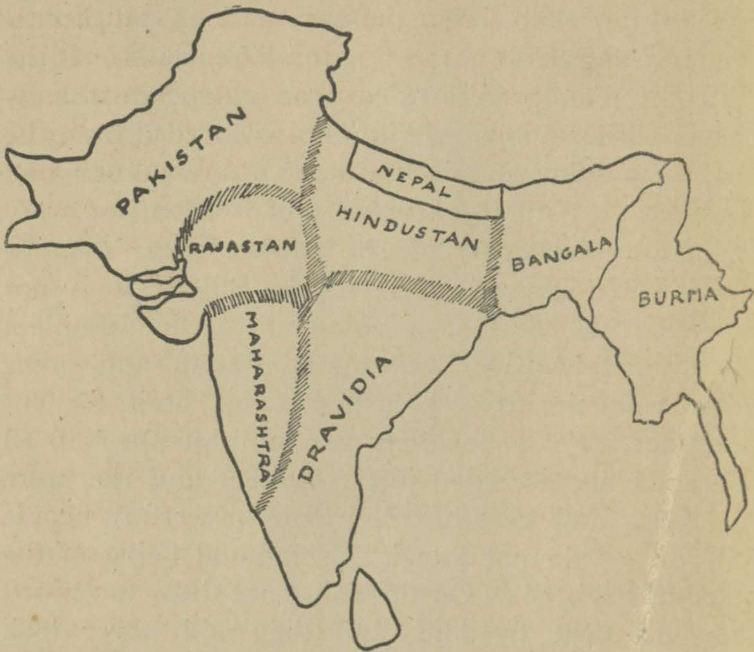
but because it is the largest political organisation in India, and its avowed aims are unity and freedom for India. These politicians are no doubt working in an admirable spirit, although their ideal of a united India is manifestly unachievable owing to fundamental natural causes. With the Hindu-Muslim relations as they are, and with other human factors operating towards accentuating the great disunities, it is not possible (however desirable it may be from an idealistic point of view) to make of India a united nation-state. The Muslims have learnt from experience that they cannot entrust their welfare into others' keeping. The cannot agree to any settlement of the political future of India which contains the possibility of their rights being interfered with in their own country by the numerous non-Muslims of other Indian countries. They are so deeply convinced of the necessity of being the sole masters in their own home, that they will not stop short of anything that men can do to enforce the recognition of their rights.

If an artificial unity is forced upon India, the result may be the outbreak of a protracted civil war. If any Indian nation is driven to take up arms to defend its existence, reconciliation between that nation and those who will have striven by force of arms to subjugate it, will become practically impossible, and the antagonism between the two parties will wear a different complexion from what merely constitutional strife can create.

If Pakistan and Hindustan are recognised as distinct political units, the bonds of sympathy between the two countries will grow in numbers and strength

with the passage of time; but if the separation is made after an appeal to force, the two nations will thenceforth regard each other as "natural" enemies. If the right of Indian peoples to lead an independent existence in their national territories is conceded from the start, the passions and fears aroused at present will soon be allayed. With the assurance of freedom for every nation in their part of the sub-continent the cis-Himalayan unity will assert itself. Indeed it is not too much to say that a common defence problem may ultimately drive Pakistan, Hindustan and other Indian countries to seek a permanent basis for co-operation. That, however, can only happen if all concerned are accorded just treatment and the more numerous (and consequently more powerful) people of Hindustan do not attack the national being of the people of Pakistan. Let the Paks once draw the sword to defend their freedom, and they will never look with friendly eyes upon those who tried to keep them in subjection by every means within their power. The Paks will then ever look westward for alliances and friendships, and Pakistan and her Indian neighbours will become hereditary enemies.

The example of other countries lends strength to the view expressed above. The Union of South Africa became possible since the people of the various South-African states were allowed to try self-determination. After some time the pressure of common interests was sufficient to bring them together, and there were few rancorous memories to hinder the union. The South-Africans learnt in their independent states to use and value their freedom, and with



The above sketch-map is an envisagement of what the Indian States of the future may be. A common defence problem and some common historical traditions (of which the Mughal rule has had the most important similarising effect) would, in all probability, give rise to a permanent international entente.

that they also learnt to respect others' freedom and co-operate among themselves as equals. Had South Africans' wishes been disregarded and South Africa started as a political unit with a closely centralised government, hatreds would have hardened and the struggle would have continued till the different states ultimately separated—probably never again to unite. The unity of the United States of America is the outcome of the complete internal autonomy of its forty-eight member-units.

We thus see that any attempt at the suppression of the forty-five million Paks will be dangerous to the peace and security of India. Not only is Pakistan a distinct racial, cultural and geographical unit, it is also the bigger part of the national home of ninety million Indian Muslims who, if they are driven to defend their rights, will do so by every means within their power, and will make the establishment of peace impossible in Southern Asia till they have won recognition for their national rights.

CHAPTER XV

THE ethos of our mechanical civilisation is such and men's tendency to lose sight of the uncontrollable historical process in the intensity of immediate awarenesses so usual that it is only by an extraordinary effort of the intellect that we can view the present in relation to the past. We adhere to our beliefs of the present—beliefs which we share with the humanity of our age—with tenacity, and practically refuse to admit the application of the laws of change to our existing institutions. All manifestations of the Life Force ranging from the tiny atoms of life in a drop of water to civilised men are in a constant state of flux, and the pattern of a generalisation of today cannot be expected to fit the conditions of tomorrow. In human affairs slow processes of change which are scarcely perceived by the units involved in them, often produce cataclysmic results. It is the mark of the highest life, or more correctly, of life which is most capable of survival that it should betimes achieve the awareness of the departure of one era and the arrival of another, and adjust itself by a conscious effort to the new surroundings. Clinging with blind tenacity to the ideals of a bygone age and refusing to adapt oneself to the changing environment is to invite violent expulsion from the scheme of things.

Today we are witnessing events which are unparalleled in the annals of history. These events

appear momentous to us but they may be exceeded in magnitude and intensity by what the future holds in its lap. So violent is the culmination of our slow transformation during the last two hundred years that we fail to find an analogy for our stormy lives in the past, and cannot see the direction which the indefinite perfectibility of man, promised us by the optimists, will take.

Still our only guide in the future will be our knowledge of the past, and at present we have to take our welfare on certain assumptions. 'The greatest good of the greatest number' still remains the aim of civilisation. In planning the structure of the future we shall have to retain certain basic elements of our heretofore system of life.

Democracy is the one big fact of the modern age, and believers in human perfectibility consider the rise of democracy as an unmistakable step in human progress. Viewed in terms of parliaments and cabinet councils democracy is restricted, but seen from the more appropriate point of view of mass enlightenment and individual emancipation democracy is universal. Today the millions know about themselves—whether they know the truth or not will ever remain debatable—but the important fact is that they know, and feel the necessity for knowing. The importance attached to propaganda in the most tyrant-ridden countries implies a recognition of the power of the people which is everywhere greater than it was in the past. Whether the instrument of the people's will is a dictator or a parliamentary cabinet does not affect the basic fact that the people are governed largely as they

wish to be governed.

There is consistency in the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations envisaging world stabilisation in democratic terms. The World State of the future can only be conceived of as a democracy of nation-states. For the realisation of that end the existence of the nations of the world will have to be carefully determined. Today the doctrine of nationalism is decried in certain quarters but it cannot be denied that nationalism has inseparably entered the being of civilised humanity. It is not possible to ignore nationalism. To change the world-mind about it by means of the spoken and the written word is difficult to the verge of being impossible. The most important deeds of human masses are in the essence nationalistic. Nationalism is a natural stage in the growth of civilisation. Before the rise of the nations the world was a confused agglomeration of races and civilisations. Because of nationalism a semblance of order has appeared in the world confusion. Without humanity being compartmented in nations the concept of a World State would be remote and nebulous. As the nations exist it is a definite concept and who can say but that we may see with our own eyes the realisation of it in objective fact ?

Are the ills of the present-day world due to Nationalism ? The answer is 'No.' They are rather due to the trampling of national feeling of ill-defended peoples by their unscrupulous neighbours who happen to be better armed at the time. If the right of nations to exist was recognised without respect to their armed strength, there would be no wars. In a peaceful society the weak as well as the strong live side by side

and go about their work without interfering with one another. Those that are strong either in body or the faculties of the brain enjoy increased respect and affluence which is their reward for their services to the humanity around them ; while those that are weak and incapable of serving society by helping to make it richer or happier, suffer for their incapacity by failing to create wealth. But in a society where the strong use their strength not to create means of comfort and happiness but to grind the weak, they destroy others' as well as their own happiness. Strife then makes its appearance. The strong cannot agree as to who shall enslave how many weak ones and fly at each other's throats ; also the weak improve their strength and fight back on the strong who wish to coerce them to their will. The total progress of humanity toward a higher existence is thus delayed.

Mankind has undoubtedly progressed since medieval times. The earliest man lived like animals. Individuals fought among themselves and the strong destroyed the weak, for that is the law of the jungle—the law of irrational life. But man was not an animal like other animals. He possessed rational faculties. These faculties gradually developed and appeared in his actions, and man gave up the law of the jungle and evolved his own rational laws. Men saw that the law of physical strength was not applicable to their lives. They realised that they had souls and the strength of a being with a soul can consist in a variety of capabilities other than the power to hack and hew and tear and bite. For instance, man can be strong in reasoning and making tools, or in controlling the

actions of other rational beings by the power of song or speech. Thus men realised that they should not be fighting among themselves, but working together and giving each other a chance to develop their respective strengths. This was the first step in man's progress. By this means men gained such control over the forces of nature and made each other so much wiser and more comfortable that they were convinced that they were the best creation of God.

But mutual understanding among men had not yet been perfected. Individuals living in a group learn to respect the rights of each other but the groups had not yet learnt to co-operate ; they instead fought among themselves and destroyed each other's achievements. As time passed and civilisation progressed the warring groups or tribes made up their differences and agreed to live peacefully. Large peaceful societies thus came into existence. In the last few hundred years these societies came to be called "nations." Today the nations are for the most part internally united and peaceful but between themselves they are constantly at variance. The quarrels between nations are due to the same causes as were the quarrels among ancient jungle tribes, *i.e.*, they are due to vanity, conceit, ignorance and a short-sighted view of material advantages. The right-thinking men of all nations deplore these quarrels. They know international wars are destructive of all progress. The number of people who think like that is increasing in all parts of the world. It is hoped that the majority of the world population will soon become of one mind in this respect. When that happens mankind will have moved

one step further on the path of progress.

The present age is an age of transition. Just as men gave up inter-tribal warfare because they saw it to be foolish and bad for all concerned, so they will give up international warfare. We have now begun to realise how ignorant we have been to suppose that our welfare lay in plotting against our neighbours. We have, strangely enough, not been able to see that their interests have been much the same as ours.

Individuals gave up mutual fighting to live in tribes; tribes joined to form larger peaceful groups; these groups coalesced into still larger ones and the process of coalition continued till the world arrived at the national stage. Obviously the next stage in human advancement will be the merging of the nations into a world society recognising universal laws of peace. What vistas of progress will then come into the view of humanity is impossible to anticipate. The heart of man leaps up at the paradisial visions of the emancipation of humanity from a million self-made sorrows, in a world which will look upon inter-tribal and international barbarisms as the memories of a dreadful past.

Among us, men and women of the older generation have seen two gigantic upheavals and are left embittered and pessimistic. For those that are young the World War of 1914-18 has become history but the present war is an agonising reality. History is, for the most part, a chronicle of conquests. Out of its gory pages we learn that autocratic governments are most liable to be involved in strife. When an individual gains complete control of the lives of millions and the resources of a large country, the future of the humanity

living in that area is fraught with violence. The modern mechanism of state control is so efficient and so powerful that its working should not be made dependent upon so inconstant a factor as an individual's will. In a democratic administration individual aberrations are scarcely noticeable in the ultimate national policy ; but in a government in which one man's authority is supreme and unquestionable, his fads and fancies, pride and peevishness assume the magnitude of national calamities. The dictator's pride or passion of a moment may unhinge the delicate balance of international relations and precipitate a major conflict. The risk of physical accident alone makes one man's rule exceedingly precarious.

The essentially barbarous desire for dominance lives on in a civilised world ethos because power is concentrated in the hands of individual members of strong oligarchies. Decentralisation of state authority would not only be a prelude to the realisation of better soeial justice but would also prepare the way for the supreme centralisation of moral authority in a future world order.

To the comfortable nineteenth century politicians with whole continents like Africa to divide among themselves and scientific discoveries like the steam engine and the airship to excite and amuse the masses, the desire to theorise about hero-worship came as a natural reaction to the early French Revolution cult of Republicanism. The times which produced a Czar Alexander II were the times when democracy was in the air, and people within the sphere of European civilisation breathed it for their life. But even

great ideas become obsolete. Towards the end of the century the colourful personalities of the Czar, the Kaiser and the Austro-Hungarian Emperor seemed to lend sanction by their resplendent panoply of state to the idea of a supreme centre of loyalties. When Dumouriez defeated the European supporters of the French monarchy at Valmy in September 1792, the cult of liberty, equality and fraternity had infected every court in Europe like an epidemic and when the crowned head of Louis Capet rolled into the basket of la Guillotine there was some horror and much exultation in France and more horror and less exultation abroad but little surprise anywhere. The young aristocrats read Rousseau assiduously and wished success to the Revolution. But towards the end of the nineteenth century European society became tired of democracy as it had become tired of authority towards the close of the eighteenth. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century there had been revolutions with constitutions and runaway kings as their occasional consequences. In the latter half of the century there was busy peace and prosperity in Northern Europe. The African melon was cut although the Turkish gourd looked too like a powder mine to be similarly handled. The intellectuals were preparing for another revolution in thought. The goddess of liberty had grown old and haggard and the Europeans regarded her with conceited confidence instead of awed adoration. The cult of hero-worship was revived in the intellectual coteries. To wish for a hero to appear and assume control of the lives of millions was like trying to raise a demon to do wonders; but the Mephistophelian

aspect of the Superman appealed to the ennui-ridden intellectuals of Europe ; while the example of the blazing autocrats was not without having its effects upon the popular imagination. The bourgeois administrative staff of a republic contrasted unfavourably with the resplendent court of a Kaiser or a Czar. Giving complete authority in the hands of the benevolent autocrat, the hero, the strong man, the man of destiny or whatever other name a dictator was given, came to be regarded as the only cure for a nation's ills.

The World War of 1914-18 gave the necessary shaking to bring these ideas on top. Germany, Russia, Italy, Turkey, and some other smaller states emerged as autocracies from the debris of the old world order. To none of these countries did autocracy bring internal misrule for only efficient and strong men became leaders.

The present war has shown that while autocracies are internally well-managed, their actions are ruinous to international peace. Democracy appears to be the only sure foundation upon which a world order can be built. By democracy is not meant here the rule of a half-educated money-hunting middle class who set a few high above them and worship them, and a great many far below them and spurn and grind them, but a democracy based on social equality and nationalisation of the means of production.

Civilised life subsists on the intellectual heritage from the past. Our art and literature of the past two hundred years is steeped in the cult of nationalism. The strength of national feeling is derived from instinctive sources. It may be possible for an individual

to make of himself an earnest citizen of the world but the modern man finds it much easier and far more satisfying to be a patriotic citizen of Poland or Japan, or Bengal. The love of one's country is a noble feeling. It is an effort of the individual self to expand and become co-extensive with the national self, and as such it is a necessary stage in the advancement of the individual towards becoming one with the universal self. The rise of the nations is thus a sign of the world moving towards a final unity. Men and women have learnt to merge their identity in the bigger entity of the state. It is only a step from this to the next stage of the individual identifying his interests with the interests of the World State. From these premises it can be asserted that the national definition of the peoples of the world is a necessary prelude to world unity. It would be wrong to make nationalism our despair. Indeed it may be said that in the loyalty of the unit to the composite body lies our main hope of advancing towards social perfection.

By some enthusiasts for the "brotherhood of man" ideal nationalism is condemned as chauvinistic jingoism. There is no doubt that till quite recently in all countries the number of nationalist jingos was very great but the events of the present are making them wiser (and incidentally sadder). The number of believers in the "destiny of their race" to rule others is fast decreasing. The hope of building a world order for the peace and prosperity of the human race is based on a purer nationalism. The future "Federation of Man" assumes a number of units to be federated. The more naturally correct is the distribution

of these units the better it will be for all concerned. The desire of the ruling class in some countries to keep the other countries yoked to their own is a faint reflection of the empire-lust, which the last World War and the present War have greatly toned down. The pity and horror of war will bring the benefits of their cathartic effects. Our sufferings will purge us of conceit and greed and insincerity and bring nearer the vision of a harmonious world.

Progress in human occupation is mostly the outcome of constructive competition. Among men the desire to excel arises when they realise their individualities and become aware of their mutual differences. So with nations. In these days of stunt idealism and unpractical (hence dangerous) "brotherhood of man" propaganda which fails to convince any one and depresses well-intentioned, peace-loving people with its obvious futility, the differences between nations are not always rationally recognised. All the same the differences make themselves felt and those very people who avoid thinking about the differences that persist between men and men cannot avoid shrinking from a too close proximity to a Negro or a very Chinese-looking Chinese in a railway train. The realities are so different from the average well-intentioned absurd talk about "the children of our common father Adam" that the man in the street never acquires a rational attitude towards the peculiarities of other peoples. Not knowing how to take the differences which, so to say, hit him in the eye and for which his education has not prepared him, the average individual is uneasy and mistrustful when con-

fronted with people of other races who come from countries that are no longer far off. Today the problems of international relations are so pressing as to make every thinking man and woman inquire into present concepts of political ethics. One wonders if the weak-minded idealists and old maids who clamour about "our common father Adam" are not really responsible for our present ills. Backed by the not entirely derelict religious authority and fortified with their blank-eyed idiocy these pavers of the way to hell get into priests' frocks, contaminate school books and broadcast their dangerous and deceptive ideas from the public platform. Nothing has so much hindered mutual understanding among the peoples of the world as the careful avoidance in popular education of any discussion of their natural differences. Whatever a different people like the Chinese or the Negroes are mentioned in popular literature the writer is usually a man with a "sense of humour" who makes "good-natured" fun of their peculiarities which he is too ignorant or shallow-minded to be able to explain in a civilised and tolerant way. Between those who tell him that the Chinaman is his real brother and those who put him in fiction as the perpetrator of dreadful and uncanny deeds, the average man is bewildered. Rarely, if ever, is he told that neither is the Chinaman his real brother nor the malicious poisoner and schemer of the popular fiction reader's imagination but just another human being with a face yellower than ours, hair more straight than we have, eyes less wide than those belonging to us and cheek-bones higher than most of us have got. Also that he is more

reserved, is much more courteous in speech, has a better artistic judgment, knows more about making pottery and growing rice and less of building in stone and wheat cultivation than ourselves. The need of the present is not that we should preach the destiny of Aryan peoples to rule the non-Aryans but that we should understand how we are different from others, in what respects we can learn from them and in what others teach them to make the world a better place to live in. Men are brothers but they are also unlike each other. Let them understand this and they will be better neighbours and more affectionate brothers.

National self-determination is the natural right of all peoples of the world. It is a duty laid on us by religious faith and dictates of reason to make the world a safe place for all and to help each other to create the greatest amount of beauty and joy out of the accident of existence. In order to achieve our ideal of a peaceful world we must strive for national self-determination and help other peoples in their efforts to do the same. Should we momentarily acquire an unfair advantage over others, we shall not be so much better as those whom we wrong shall be the worse for it ; and since men are ultimately equal our advantage will not last, and a stronger nation may then acquire dominance over us which will again be productive of endless pain and misery. Our object in demanding political independence for our country is not that we should make ourselves strong enough to beat others in battle and subjugate them ; our object in striving to be politically independent is that we should be enabled to make the best of the opportunities nature has allowed us. As an

independent nation we shall be better able to co-operate with our neighbours in making the world peaceful and progressive. We should like to see the Hindustanis, the Dravidians, the Burmese and other nations of the world living their own lives in their own countries. The world will be the more beautiful for their variety. We do not want to people the world with our race or make all the people of the world speak our language and live as we do. We do not call them barbarians if they differ from us in dress and habits of life and do not think them our inferiors if they do not deport themselves as we do in our everyday life. We look upon their particular achievements with esteem and pleasure and hope they will extend a tolerant regard to our customs and ways which must appear as strange to them as theirs do to us. We are content to live and die in our corner of the earth and if we go abroad and meet with hospitality in other countries we shall welcome those who come to visit us in our country. We should be anxious to establish a World Order on the recognition of each other's cultural and political integrity among the peoples of the world. We should readily co-operate with other nations to alleviate pain and misery wherever it exists on earth and make a collective effort for progress in spheres of material and intellectual achievement. Finally, we should be among the foremost to fight with our whole might the forces of tyranny and oppression. Should tyranny raise its head anywhere in the world we should be among the first to combat it and prevent order from dissolving into chaos. It should not be our ambition to use blood and iron to enslave others and keep them enslaved as long as we

can. We should use iron to harness the forces of nature and want that blood be cherished and made to scintillate with beauty and pleasure.

The people of democratic countries envisage the future World State as a 'democracy of democracies' and that indeed would be 'a culmination devoutly to be wished.' In a World Parliament of the Future will sit the representatives of the democratically ordered nation-states and since liberty, equality and fraternity will have a world significance, war may then become a thing of the past. World control vested in a central representative Parliament will result in the solution of international economic problems, and human suffering consequent upon a haphazard distribution of the means of life will be considerably reduced.

What would be the position of the peoples of the Indian sub-continent in the future democratic World State? Obviously the Indian nations will enter the world federation as autonomous units. For the permanence and stability of the future World Order it will be essential that the member-states should be racially and culturally correct national units. In previous chapters attempts have been made to show that Indians cannot be a united nation with common aims and ideals. The sub-continent of India with one-fifth of humanity living within its boundaries contains many nations. An India dominated by any one nation—Hindustanis, Paks, Dravidians, Maharattas or any other nation—will not only be weak and unhappy owing to internal dissensions consequent upon the suppressed nationalities striving for self-determination, but will also make world stabilisation impossible.

CHAPTER XVI

NOWADAYS many people do a great deal of writing and speaking. Other people think all this talk useless so they make long speeches and write big articles to prove that we cannot improve things by making speeches and writing articles.

Yet, all of us, even when we write and speak against each other, have the same end in the view. We want to improve things and hope that things can be improved. We write and speak for we think we can persuade others to adopt our plans for improving certain things.

When we come out to persuade others to adopt our way of thinking, how do we suppose things stand between ourselves and other people? Is it that we and they do not agree with one another? Yes; but it also means that all of us are ultimately agreed about our aim.

For unless we were sure that they also wanted to improve things why should we try to persuade them, and unless they knew we wanted to help them to make the world a better place why should we suppose that they would listen to us?

So we are agreed in this that as human beings we all have a common purpose—that of making the world a better place to live in. All of us want to make progress and be happier. We talk to each other and argue with each other because we know that our

efforts can improve our lot and that our laziness can make it worse. It means that we think that happiness is worth striving for and can be achieved—that truth and justice will make us happy and improve everything around us, and sham and falsehood will surely spoil everything and make everybody miserable. In short, in arguing with each other we take it for granted that the world can be run best on principles of truth and righteousness. The writer of this book believes this too. He also believes that in the struggle of Right and Wrong, Right will ultimately win, and ought to win.

Those who doubt that the law of righteousness is the law of Life should not think that this book is addressed to them. For such people no argument can have any meaning since all argument assumes a common standard of values—a standard which those involved in argument assume to be essentially right. No talk can reach those who believe that the world can be run without men observing any principles. Indeed there could be no question of 'running' such a world. A world without principles would be a chaos and you do not have to 'run' a chaos.

People have tried not to mind the chaos in the world. They have taken the path of opportunism and they have suffered. In their greed and selfishness they have broken the rules of Right and destruction has overtaken them for the law of Right is the law of Life.

Some people imagined they could make themselves happy by making others unhappy. They thought that they could make themselves comfortable by taking others' share of the good things of this world. In this

they were unjust and wrong. Ultimately terrible punishment overtook them and they were very unhappy.

We must make the world orderly before we can make it better. We have to make laws and follow them. We must distinguish between right and wrong, between what creates and what destroys, between just and unjust.

To those who believe that the law of Right is the law of Life and happiness and blessedness, this book is addressed. They are by far the most numerous in this world. The world is unhappy because the numerous believers in Right do not always act in the way of Right. When they believe as well as work in Right the world will be bright and happy. The time will come when it will be so, for mankind is becoming more civilised everyday.

Let all Indian peoples be just to each other and India will have peace and will make great progress. If some of them (or the leaders of some of them) try to cheat some others then India will be weak and miserable and backward. Whatever we make of India —a confederation or an entente or a United States or separate nation-states—let us do it in as just a manner as possible. Nothing permanent was ever built on injustice. Hindus or Muslims, Aryans and Dravidians, high caste or low caste—whatever group-name we go by, let us, first and last, be just to each other.

APPENDIX

(Resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore in 1940.)

" While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February, 1940, on the constitution issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is considered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or

acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the Constituent Units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."